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The Real Reason the Feds Stormed the Cult

Two points need to be made about the federal government's storming, siege and torching of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas.

The first is that the feds did not assault the compound on April 19 out of fear that children were being abused, as Attorney General Janet Reno initially intimated, or out of a lack of patience and an abundance of machismo. They did it for the same reason that the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms progenitors cut down the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794: Because no government — be it progressive or reactionary, democratic or totalitarian — can tolerate the sort of challenge to its legitimacy that is posed by armed resistance to its authority.

If the Branch Davidians had been allowed to get away with defying federal authority by force of arms, 2,500 other cults, ranging from white supremacists to black secessionists, could do so as well, as could thousands of other dissident groups, in which case public order in the sole surviving superpower would unravel with breathtaking suddenness, as it did in Lebanon and Somalia, when private militias acquired enough firepower to openly defy the established government.

That brings us to the second point. The real question isn't: Why did the feds try to bulldoze and tear gas the Branch Davidians out of their compound on April 19? Rather, it is: Why did they raid the compound on February 28?

The legal justification for the initial raid was that David Koresh and his flock supposedly had been converting semiautomatic rifles into fully automatic ones, which is illegal under federal law.

This justification for the raid, interestingly enough, was not revealed until more than six weeks after the siege began, leading one to wonder whether it was contrived after the fact — if the authorities have fished any automatic weapons out of the ashes of the Branch Davidian compound, they have yet to announce it. Let us assume

for purposes of this discussion that the BATF had probable cause to search the compound.

It still does not follow that it had cause, probable or otherwise, to raid it and come in shooting. What the feds attempted to do on February 28 was stage a no-knock search. There are two principal reasons to stage a no-knock search. One is fear that the occupants of the premises to be searched will destroy the evidence that the authorities are looking for, if the authorities give them warning that a search warrant is about to be executed. The other is fear that the occupants of the premises about to be searched may turn violent, in which case it is considered appropriate to take them by surprise.

In the case of the Branch Davidians, the first reason is a non-starter. The BATF could not very well have expected Koresh to flush 102 rifles and a million rounds of ammunition down the toilet (particularly since the Branch Davidian compound didn't have plumbing). Given the nature of the things the feds were looking for, there was no reason — as far as preservation of evidence was concerned — why they couldn't have knocked on the door and told Brother Koresh they had a warrant to search the place.

The fear of violence is another matter. The fact that Koresh was accumulating an arsenal, and his previous statements and behavior would certainly give federal authorities reason to believe he might turn violent if they attempted to execute a search warrant, may well have justified trying to take him by surprise.

But maintaining the element of surprise appears to have been the last thing on the minds of the bureau's agents — as evidenced by the fact that they alerted the press that the raid was about to occur, that they didn't maintain radio silence, and, most

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SOLDIER OF FORTUNE (ISSN 0145-6784/USPS 120-510) is published monthly by SOLDIER OF FORTUNE Magazine Inc., 5735 Arapahoe Ave., Boulder, Colorado 80303-1340. Second Class Postage Paid at Boulder, CO. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to SOLDIER OF FORTUNE, Subscription Department, P.O. Box 348, Mt. Morris, IL 61054-0348, or call 1-800-877-5207. U.S. and APO-FPO subscription rates for twelve monthly issues: \$28.00. California residents add 7.25% tax. Canada add \$10.00/yr. additional postage (includes GST tax registration number: R128476249). All other countries add \$21.00. U.S. FUNDS ONLY. Single Issue Price — U.S., \$3.95; United Kingdom, £2.60; Canada, \$4.75. PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

CONTRIBUTORS: Manuscripts, photographs or drawings are submitted at the contributor's own risk. Material should be mailed to Articles Editor, SOLDIER OF FORTUNE, P.O. Box 693, Boulder, CO 80306, and cannot be returned unless accompanied by sufficient postage. Any material accepted is subject to such revision as is necessary to meet the editorial requirements of SOF. All manuscripts must be typed double-spaced. All photographs should be credited and be accurately identified. Payment will be made at rates current at time of publication. Editorial office phone number is 303-449-3750.

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Photo: JoMarie Fecci

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Photo: Rob Krott



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Photo: AP/Wide World

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Photo: Al J. Venter



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COVER

Russian Cossack outside Skelani, Bosnia, armed with Yugo 7.62x39mm M70B1 rifle (with a field-improvised cup-type grenade launcher), frag grenades, at least two knives and an RBR-M80 64mm light antitank weapon. Opposing Muslim and Croat forces along with their western "volunteers" discount threat of well-armed and trained Russians spearheading Serb attacks, are more interested in styling the latest fashions and MTV haircuts. Article begins on page 30.

Photo: Tompix/Contrast/Gamma Liaison

BULLETIN BOARD



Do laws disarming people work? *SOF* reader Marek Cithurus of Poland sends us this photo of some two-dozen-plus handmade switchblade knives from his collection, which makes one think they don't. Why not? Every one of these switchblade knives was handmade in Soviet prisons from scrounged materials such as vehicle and alarm clock springs, toothbrush handles, etc... Photo: E. M. Cithurus

GAUNTLET IS HERE

As Mother of all Give 'Em Hell magazines, *SOF* takes puckish pleasure in any new publication that is launched athwart the stream of political rectitude. Now comes *Gauntlet*, a newsletter fueled by rancorous reaction to the Tailhook flap. A rich broth of serious interviews, highly seasoned with riotously funny commentary on the whacko naval/military approach to sexual harassment, Tailhook and other issues. For details contact Richard Fitzwell, 2129 General Booth Blvd., Suite 103 #208, Virginia Beach, VA 23454. Help a good boy go bad — support *Gauntlet*.

AND THE WINNERS ARE ...

Winners of the 1993 *SOF* Sweepstakes are: — First Place: Andrew Phillips, Tulsa, Oklahoma (1993 *SOF* Convention trip) — Second Place: Kitty Baran, Simi Valley, California (Ruger rifle) — Third Place: David Mottorn, Coudersport, Pennsylvania (Al Mar knife) — Fourth Place: D. H. Morgan, Wellington, Ohio (Al Mar knife) — Fifth Place: Tom Dyer, Romeoville, Illinois (Al Mar knife).

ONLY CANADIAN CRIMINALS WILL HAVE CROSSBOWS?

Following the Burnaby, British Columbia, murder of 22-year-old Silvia Leung with a crossbow, some Canadian officials have renewed calls to ban or

otherwise "restrict" such weapons. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police estimates that 20 or so crossbows are sold in the greater Vancouver, British Columbia, area each year. During the past 15 years crossbows have been involved in "several" accidents and killings in Canada. The Canadian Police Association has advocated restrictions on crossbows since 1987; under existing legislation, a non-hunter carrying a crossbow could be charged under the criminal code with having a weapon that is dangerous to the public peace.

CORRECTING AN OMISSION

The color photo illustrating Colonel Charlie Beckwith's analysis of the ATF's Waco assault, "What Went Wrong In Waco," on pages 36-37 of the July 1993 *SOF*, should have been credited to Rod Aydelotte/*Waco Tribune Herald*/Sigma.

WEAVER WAS SF QUALIFIED

SOF apologizes to Randy Weaver. Administrative code discrepancies in a discharge document provided by Weaver led to the incorrect conclusion that Weaver was a "candy striper," i.e. he was assigned to a Special Forces unit, but was not SF qualified (see

"Standoff in Idaho: The Randy Weaver Incident" *SOF* March '93). That is incorrect. Through extensive checking under the Freedom of Information Act, *SOF* has confirmed that Weaver qualified on his second run through the qualification course.

BATTLE BLADES — THE BOOK

Those who have enjoyed or benefited professionally from Greg Walker's "Battle Blades" columns in *SOF* will greet with favor Walker's new book, published by Paladin Press, entitled *Battle Blades: A Professional's Guide to Combat/Fighting Knives*. As with the "Battle Blades" columns Walker has done for *SOF*, and as with his work as editor of *Fighting Knives* magazine, this new volume benefits greatly from the attention of a writer who is thoroughly involved in his subject: Both scope and detail of the book are excellent. There are more than 160 large-format pages, well-illustrated, including a guide to combat blade makers and an illustrated glossary. Available September 1993 @ \$30 plus \$4 shipping, from Paladin Press, Dept. *SOF*, Box 1307, Boulder, CO 80306.

Battle zone Dubrovnik? Dalan Pass? No, *Dunbar*, as in Pennsylvania, where *SOF* reader "Dangerous" Dave Martin is worrying his neighbors 1,000 yards downrange with the Big Jess Mk I howitzer. Specs: 2-3/4 inch tube; muzzle-loading, fuze fired. Ammunition: 1,500 grains of 2F black powder, propelling a soup can of concrete (Campbell's is soup of choice, generics lack range); duct tape driving bands. Range: Oh, at least 1,000 yards, but as no projectiles have been recovered this figure is by interpolation. Crew: one, lead by Lt. Jessica Martin. Dangerous Dave, a draftsman, is considering working up plans for this design. Interested parties who can provide a letter from their spouse may contact Dave c/o *SOF*. Photo: courtesy Dave Martin



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AMERICAN BOUNTY HUNTER

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American Bounty Hunter features America's foremost authority on bounty hunting, Bob Burton. As a 30-year veteran of manhunting, Burton demystifies the bail enforcement profession as he shares insider tips on everything from the tools of the trade (Think you need a weapon? Think again!) to the essential paperwork (Don't get caught without certain vital pieces) to where to find clients (Leave your cammo at home). This action-packed video goes right to the heart of the trade with the do's and don'ts of tracking, surveillance and arrest, as well as practical advice on the most important point of all - who gets paid, how much and when. This is the perfect companion to Burton's seminal books on the subject, **Bounty Hunter** and **Ball Enforcer: The Advanced Bounty Hunter**. If you are considering entering this thrilling and demanding field, you must see this tape. Remember the bounty hunter's creed: *No body, no booty!* Color, approx. 35 min., VHS only. **\$34.95**



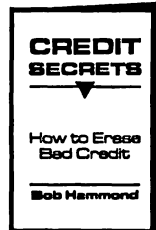
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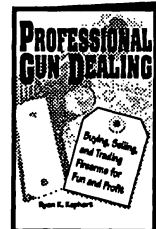
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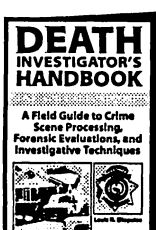
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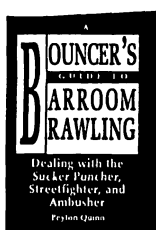
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REVIEW REVIEW

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of dollars a year in subscriptions to keep up with them all. And not all publications have reviews in every issue. Take *SOF* for instance: Space limitations and editorial priorities in a world of conflict dictate infrequent reviews (a pleasant exception appears on page 44).

That is why we were pleased to find a single source of reviews for military

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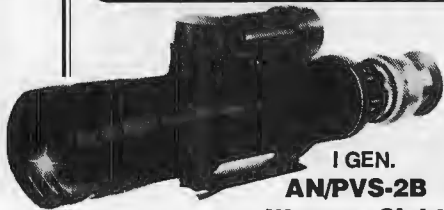
World War II quiz: Which civilian outfit had a higher casualty rate than the Army and Navy? Lost the first men as POWs? Was 65% comprised of kids too young or physically unfit for military service? Was the first and the last to lose men to hostile enemy action? (If you guessed the U.S. Merchant Marine, you're right.)



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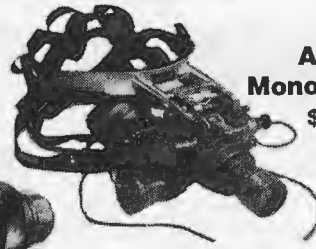


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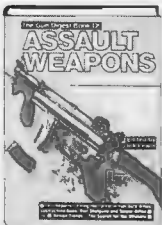
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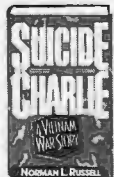
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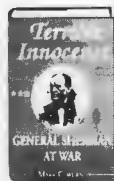
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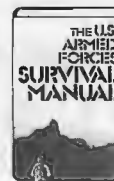
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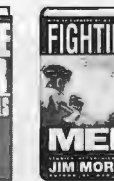
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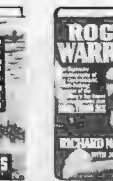
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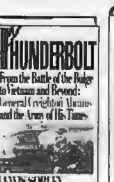
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SLICK WILLIE WATCH

JUST IN CASE YOU AIN'T HEARD

• Not to be outdone by Hillary's new "do," Hollywood hairstylist (aka barber) to the stars, "Cristophe," was called in to work his magic on Billary's hair. Yep, in May our "populist" prez had his locks shorn in the comfort of Air Force One while parked on the runway at LAX, resulting in a mere two-hour delay at one of the nation's busiest airports — peasants and other non-politicians be damned!

For that kind of runway time, Cristophe's \$200 fee could be considered a bargain, if you are warped, extremely callous or Bill Clinton.

• It's hard to keep track of exactly what is going on at the White House on any given day. Case in point: The White House travel staff (all of them) were fired en masse for alleged improprieties (there's irony in there somewhere). Clinton denied this, later confirmed it (business as usual). An Arkansas travel agency that reportedly supported the Clinton campaign with big \$\$\$ was immediately hired to fill in. Clinton denied this, later confirmed it. At press time they're thinking about re-hiring the fired staff. Clinton won't deny or confirm this.

LET US PRAY

Psalm 1992-1993

First Book of Democrats

Bill Clinton is my shepherd, I shall not want. He leadeth me beside the still factories. He restoreth my faith in the Republican Party. He guideth me in the path of unemployment. Yea, though I walk through the Valley of the Breadline, I shall not go hungry. Clinton has anointed my income with Taxes. My expenses runneth over my income. Surely, poverty and hard living will follow me all the days of my life. The Democrats and I will live in a rented house forever. But I am glad I am an American. I am glad I am Free. But I wish I was a dog and Bill Clinton was a tree!

SLICK AND SENSITIVE

In anticipation of being admitted to Slick Willie's armed forces, Queer Nation has submitted a list of "sensitivity" demands to the DoD, to wit: — unit patches may have optional rhinestones — smoke grenades will be

issued in pink, with potpourri scent — K-Y jelly will be issued in camouflage tubes — company showers will include a bathhouse section — morning PT will incorporate optional Jarie Fonda low-impact aerobics — all close order drills will be taught by a choreographer — K9 units will include optional poodles — enlisted men will be permitted to address an NCO as "Yes, Sergeant Darling."

As some of these demands seemed somewhat bizarre, we contacted Queer Nation — by phone — to see if they were serious, and their representative assured us, "I am speaking to you completely in Ernest." ✕



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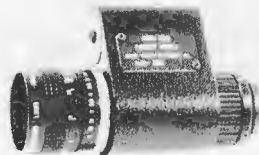


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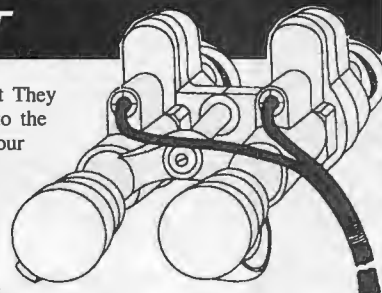
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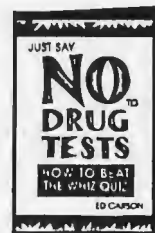


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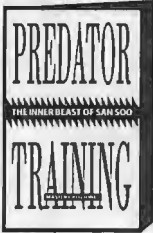


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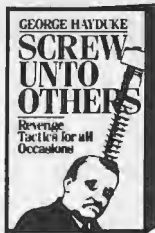


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Text & Photo by Gabriel Suarez

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So far spared by the liberal gun grabbers, the shotgun is still politically "acceptable," if not politically "correct," as a police and civilian weapon in most municipalities, and is among the most effective close-defense weapons available.

Shotguns bridge the gap between pistols and rifles, providing a strong edge over the most powerful handguns, yet having lower penetration and shorter range than rifles. While short range and low penetration may be liabilities in some scenarios, these features are assets in the circumstances where shotguns are primarily used — close-range, quick-response situations not usually involving intervening cover, or requiring a high volume of fire. And since the 12-gauge shot pattern is more forgiving to slight shooter error than most small arms, a shotgun becomes even more useful after dark.

There are three types of standard shotgun fodder — bird shot, buckshot, and slugs. Specialty rounds such as flechettes and pyrotechnics have limited applications. In buckshot, 000, 00, 0, #1 and #4 buck are the best loads for antipersonnel use. I prefer 00 buck, but you should try them all to determine which type and brand will pattern the best in your particular weapon.

The type of ammunition is selected in anticipation of the distance at which the shotgun will be used. Jeff Cooper has defined these relative distances as "zones." The effective distances that determine the zones will vary with the individual shotgun and ammo type used, which necessitates thorough testing with your chosen weapon and specific ammunition.

Closest is the "A" zone, ranging from arm's length out to about 7 yards. Here, the shot pattern can be covered by the palm of the hand, and the shotgun must be aimed like a rifle or you may miss the target. At this range, bird shot will deliver just as devastating a blow as buckshot, and is often favored by those who must operate in indoor urban environments because of its low penetration. Beyond the "A" zone, however, bird shot is relatively worthless for antipersonnel purposes.

The middle range is the "B" zone, from about 8 to 25 yards. At these distances, the pattern will expand for a maximized strike on the target. Nevertheless, it *must* be centered on target for maximum effect. A good



Organized, varied selection of ammo and 12-gauge shotgun with ghost ring sight is weapon of choice for close-defense.

shotgun with good ammunition will keep its full load of buckshot in the "stop zone" of a target and provide a more probable terminal blow than any other conventional shoulder weapon.

The "C" zone is the range at which the shot pattern will spread to where the target may be bypassed by all the pellets. This distance varies with each shotgun and ammo. Thus, effectively shooting into the "C" zone requires a rifled slug. Here the shotgun works as a short-range rifle, capable of reaching out and touching someone at 100 yards or more.

Although the standard bead front sight is adequate in the "A" and "B" zones, rifle-type sights will increase usable range. Traditional shotgun rifle sights will suffice, but the "ghost ring" sight system is by far the best: Beyond 50 yards, ghost ring sights are a necessity.

"C" targets require the ability to switch ammo types midstream. This is facilitated by maintaining an empty or "dead" space in the magazine, to allow insertion of the required slug — a good argument for extended magazines, not for firepower, but for providing room to insert a particular type round.

Study the characteristics of your particular weapon to allow quick transition to different ammo; the most common transition is from buckshot to

slugs. Buckshot is responsible for the shotgun's awesome reputation, its characteristics making it the choice for typical shotgun scenarios. It will probably be the ammo kept in the gun for defense. Some will disagree with me on this point and argue that slugs are always preferable, but to follow that line of reasoning would be to simply abandon the shotgun and carry a rifle.

Tips to facilitate changing ammo are:

1. Keep different ammo separate and *always* carry them in the same place; such as slugs on the belt, buckshot in a cheekpiece with loops.

2. Learn to recognize by touch the types of ammo you carry. Bird shot has a low-base shell, buckshot a high-base. Slugs have no crimp, and the tip of the slug can be felt.

Most shotguns do not have the quick reloading capability of weapons with a detachable magazine, thus must be continually "topped-off" during the fight. The rule is to *reload what you shoot*. If two rounds have solved your immediate problem, load two rounds in the magazine before continuing with the war. *Learn to load your particular shotgun instinctively*, by practicing in a variety of conditions — on the run, in the dark, under pressure. Statistics indicate shotgun fights rarely require more than 10 shots, but there will always be exceptions.

Unless you are in a ready-to-shoot situation, keeping the weapon "cocked and locked" may be unsafe. Whether the shotgun is stored in a patrol car or a broom closet, the chamber should be empty and the hammer down, with the magazine tube loaded. In this condition, the weapon can be armed in an instant by pumping the forend. When you carry the shotgun in anticipation of having to use it, chamber a round at the earliest opportunity.

I wouldn't argue that many a criminal has been frightened away by the sound of a 12-gauge round being chambered, but this not only betrays your intentions, it telegraphs your position. In most circumstances, it is better the bad guy hear only your verbal challenge or the report of your weapon. *You* decide.

Facing an immediate threat, you are well-advised to start in a ready position, as ready positions facilitate bringing the weapon rapidly into play. The two basic positions are *high ready* and *low*

Continued on page 71

Our sons...our brothers...our friends...



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WORLD SITREP

1

Bolivia

Government probes reports that arms smugglers used army documentation as cover for buy of \$20 million in former combloc arms, which were then forwarded to customer in former Yugoslavia ...

2

Russia

Russia and United States hold first joint military exercise since World War II near Tiksi in northern Siberia. Two-day air exercise focused on search-and-rescue operations ...

3

Estonia

Retired U.S. Army Col. Aleksander Einsein, an Estonian-born U.S. citizen, is named commander in chief of Estonia's armed forces. U.S. State Department strongly objects to appointment; Einsein faces loss of citizenship and his \$50,000 per year U.S. military pension ...

6

Pakistan

Eight members of Khyber Rifles are among 10 dead when their vehicle hits mine ...

7

India

Indian air force will replace its fleet of aging MIGs with an indigenously built light-combat aircraft powered by General Electric engines. In a possibly related development, high-level Israeli delegation arrives in-country to explore possibility of military equipment and technology sales ...

10

Iraq

U.S. jets patrolling southern no-fly zone encounter tracer rounds on at least three occasions, but do not retaliate. Rounds did not reach altitude at which planes were patrolling ...

11

Tunisia

PLO's annual budget has shrunk by half, from nearly \$200 million, to \$100-\$120 million, since Tunisia-based organization supported Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, leading the emirate and Saudi Arabia to end financial support: Saudis had contributed \$86 million annually and Kuwait \$47 million. Funding cuts led to internal fights over Arafat's handling of the funds ...

13

13

Algeria

Country cuts diplomatic relations with Iran, which it accuses of supporting Islamic insurgents seeking to overthrow ruling junta and establish Islamic republic. Algerian rebellion started after junta took power when insurgents seemed poised to win parliamentary elections ...

14

Chad

Nomadic tribesmen reportedly are conducting systematic massacres of mostly Christian inhabitants in southern part of country. "Republican guard" units reportedly have encouraged the attacks ...

17

Indonesia

Military begins process of disbanding special command established to fight Fretilin guerrillas in East Timor. Stand-down will occur over several six-month intervals, with unit duties being handed over to local security forces ...

18

Vietnam

Government signs oil production pact with BHP Petroleum of Australia, calling for development of Dal Hung oil field off southern coast of Vietnam. Field is believed to hold 800 million barrels of oil and commercial quantities of natural gas ...

4

Germany

German government is bankrolling a community for Volga Germans in Russia so they won't emigrate to Germany. (Volga Germans are descendants of Germans who settled in southern Russia two centuries ago at invitation of Catherine the Great and who were expelled to Siberia by Stalin during World War II.) Although they are being allowed to return to Volga region, many have been choosing instead to go to Germany ...

5

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Serb rejection of the Vance-Owen plan and European rejection of armed intervention appear to have left Serbians in control of 70% of Bosnia-Herzegovina with little prospect of being challenged. Possibility of Serb-Croatian partition of country now seems real ...

8

Afghanistan

More than 1,000 die and 5,000 are wounded in protracted fighting in Kabul between mujahideen forces loyal to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and those loyal to President Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud. Fighting began when government forces tried to clean Hekmatyar's units from remaining Kabul neighborhoods they control; Hekmatyar's troops had been besieging city to obtain government role for their faction ...

9

Iran

Latest Iranian arms purchases from countries of former Soviet Union: Ukraine and Russia reportedly sold 50 MiG-29s and other combat aircraft, 200 T-72 tanks, eight SS-N-22 anti-ship missiles and an air defense system. The scope of Iranian arms buys from former Soviet bloc countries since Desert Storm suggests Iran may be contemplating another round of warfare with Iraq ...

2

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12

Saudi Arabia

Government moves to crush Islamic militant group that has taken the novel tack of advocating democratic reforms within kingdom ...

Report by Arab Monetary Fund puts cost of Gulf War to Middle Eastern countries at \$676 billion for 1990 and 1991. War wiped out two-thirds of Kuwait's economic reserves and cost Iraq at least \$256 billion ...

14

15

Senegal

Government forces killed several dozen members of rebel Movement for Democratic Forces of Casamance as they attempted to enter country from Guinea-Bissau. Clash is called bloodiest in decade-old rebellion in southern region ...

16

Angola

Clinton administration recognizes government of Angola, effectively ending 18-year support for Unita rebels. Unita scored major military successes after renewing civil war in wake of its losses in national elections, which it claimed were rigged, but which international observers described as honest ... Both sides reportedly hiring mercenaries (see related article in this issue of SOF)

20

China

Chinese military engineers are building forward operating bases for Indian Ocean operations on a Burmese coastal island off Rangoon, and on island called Great Cow in the Andaman Islands in the southern Bay of Bengal ...

Chinese population control program is achieving a birthrate of about 18 per 1,000 population, close to that of United States, but program — which relies on forced sterilization, abortion and other repressive measures — has caused United States to withdraw support from U.N. Population Fund and is causing United Nations to consider withdrawing population control workers from China ...

19

Cambodia

Intense fighting breaks out between government troops and Khmer Rouge in week leading up to elections that are supposed to end civil war; voter turnout is nevertheless heavy. Several countries participating in 22,000-member U.N. peacekeeping force consider pulling out after being attacked by Khmer Rouge forces ...

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KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Mr. Warner is assistant general counsel for the National Rifle Association of America. He was a domestic policy advisor to President Reagan from 1985 through the end of the term. In 1976 Mr. Warner received his B.A. degree (With Distinction) from the University of Michigan, with a dual major in economics and philosophy. In 1978 he received his J.D. degree from the University of Michigan.

Mr. Warner served as a naval flight officer with the U.S. Marine Corps in Vietnam. In October 1967 he was shot down over North Vietnam, captured, and held as a prisoner of war until March 1973. He holds the Silver Star, Legion of Merit (with "V"), two Purple Hearts, two Bronze Stars (with "V"). In 1990, Mr. Warner received the H.L. Mencken Award for the best editorial in defense of the First Amendment.

Mr. Warner is a Life member of the National Rifle Association, and a member of the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

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FULL AUTO

Text & Photos by Peter G. Kokalis



FN Minimi para model with retractable buttstock and shortened barrel provides envelope comparing favorably to the H&K MP5 submachine gun — with a cartridge possessing considerably more wound-ballistics potential than any pistol round, while covering substantially longer distances.

Since its type classification on 1 February 1982, the excellent U.S. caliber 5.56x45mm NATO M249 Squad Automatic Weapon (SAW) has been modified several times. Two years ago a PIP (Product Improvement Program) kit was adopted for the M249. It consisted of a ventilated heat shield that clipped over the barrel above the forearm, an M16A2-type flash hider, an articulated carrying handle, a one-position gas regulator sleeve, a hydraulic buffer and a completely redesigned plastic buttstock assembly.

More recently, a new 100-round assault pack was adopted by the U.S. armed forces. In addition, a retractable buttstock assembly is being evaluated at Picatinny Arsenal under the auspices of the Soldier Enhancement Program (SEP).

The retractable buttstock assembly is one of two components of FN (Fabrique Nationale) Herstal's para kit for the FN Minimi SAW. It is available in two configurations: either for use on guns equipped with the original recoil spring guide-rod assembly with an integral spring buffer, or for those containing the newer hydraulic buffer. It will be fielded in this latter form by the U.S. military.

To extend the para buttstock, just pull it fully out past the locked position, rotate it 90 degrees clockwise and release the stock. It will spring forward into the locked position. Reverse this procedure to collapse the assembly. This buttstock is equipped with a folding steel-wire shoulder rest (buttstrap).

Also under consideration by the U.S. military is the barrel portion of the para

package. M249 barrels have six grooves with a right-hand twist of one turn in 7 inches. The standard barrel has a length of 18.3 inches, while the para barrel measures just 13.6 inches. Both of these measurements are without the barrel extension or flash hider. The para barrel has an articulated carrying handle, but is not issued with a heat shield when attached to the FN Minimi, which still retains its original forearm assembly.

The folding carrying handle has three positions: folded on top of the barrel, the upright position for carrying, or folded down along the right side of the barrel. To fold the handle over the barrel or along the right side, push rearward on the spring-loaded handle to move its locking tab out of the deeply recessed center notch. The handle can be locked back into the carrying position by merely rotating it upward.

The M249's accuracy potential is reduced very little by the para barrel. Muzzle velocity drops by only 150 feet per second (fps) and thus the lethality of M855 ball ammunition, which depends upon high-velocity fragmentation for its effectiveness, is not compromised. The flash hider used on the para barrel is exactly that of the FNC caliber 5.56x45mm NATO assault rifle. It is, in my experience, a very effective unit.

Chopping the barrel of a gas-operated machine gun will usually lower the cyclic rate, as the propellant gases available for driving the reciprocating parts rearward are in the system for a shorter period of time before dissipating

See The Better SAW

into the atmosphere via the muzzle. To compensate for this shortened time/pressure curve and retain a cyclic rate of 800 to 850 rpm, no gas whatsoever is vented into the atmosphere through the para barrel's single-position gas regulator sleeve.

With its stock retracted, the para-model FN Minimi measures only 28.9 inches. This compares to 40.9 inches for the M249 SAW with its rigid stock and issue barrel. At slightly more than 2 feet in length, we have an envelope that compares very favorably to the Heckler & Koch MP5 9mm Parabellum submachine gun, but with far greater firepower and a cartridge possessing considerably more lethality than any pistol round and at substantially longer distances. While the para barrel is lighter, the retractable buttstock is somewhat heavier, so the standard M249 and the FN Minimi para model weigh about the same.

While obviously appealing for military airborne and Armored Fighting Vehicle (AFV) operations, an M249 SAW in para configuration could have legitimate applications for law-enforcement entry teams in urban environments. With either a 200- or 100-round assault pack, this weapon system — in the hands of properly trained operators — would provide special response teams with the intense firepower required to dominate hostile action during a dynamic entry.

During *SOF's* recent extensive test and evaluation of the para-model FN Minimi, there was only one stoppage among the several thousands of rounds fired. This was a "bounce back" — an empty case struck the top of the 200-

New 100-round soft-nylon assault pack will be issued with each M249 SAW in U.S. inventory — more comfortable than 200-round hard-plastic assault pack that digs into gunner's right hip when patrolling long distances.



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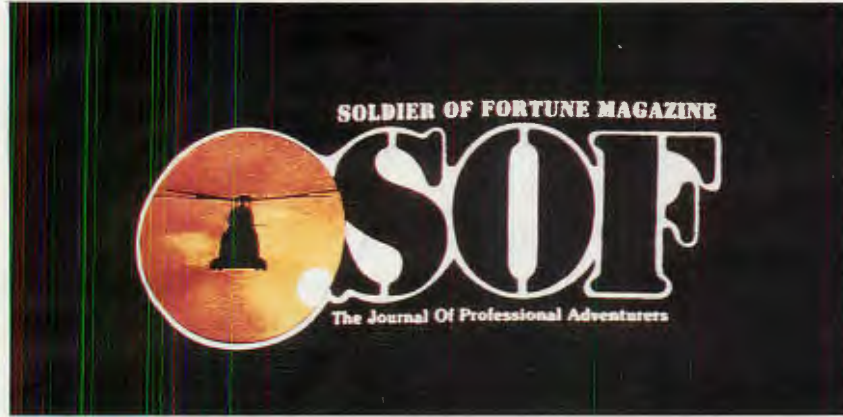
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With stock retracted, FN Minimi para model measures only 28.9 inches. Photo: courtesy FN Herstal

round assault pack and bounced back through the ejection port. I have observed this stoppage before with other machine guns equipped with drum-type belt carriers, including the Stoner 63A and RPD.

The recoil impulse was quite low and this is, to some degree, a function of the hydraulic buffer, which absorbs all excess energy introduced into the system and principally serves to eliminate any erratic decline or increase in the rate of fire. The original spring buffer, formerly attached to the rear of the recoil spring's guide rod, was deleted and replaced by a two-piece steel block, called a transfer bar assembly, which directs the path of the system's recoil energy to the tip of the hydraulic buffer.

When patrolling over long distances, the hard-plastic, 200-round assault pack will dig into the gunner's right hip. Two different types of smaller 100-round assault packs for the M249 SAW have been developed and type-classified.

A 100-round soft nylon pouch, fielded in either desert tan or woodland camouflage pattern, will be issued with each M249. It has a zipper with a snap-lock that permits opening the pouch and refilling it with another 100-round belt and plastic starter tab. When the U.S. government procures its next lot of M855 ammunition for the M249 SAW, it will be packed already linked in 100-round belts and loaded into non-reloadable hard black-plastic assault packs, each with a clear cartridge-indicator window. Presumably there will be four of these units in each .50-caliber ammo can.

Small-arms systems that are gradually improved as a consequence of field experience coupled with intelligent research-and-development programs retain their operational efficiency well beyond their originally projected life span. The M249 SAW will remain in U.S. military inventories well into the foreseeable future and continue to serve with distinction.

For further information about any of the above, qualified end-users should contact FN Nouvelle Herstal SA (Dept. SOF, rue Voie de Liege, 33 — B 4040 Herstal, Belgium; phone: 32-41-40-81-11; fax: 32-41-40-86-79) or FN Sales North America (Dept. SOF, P.O. Box 24257, Columbia, SC 29224; phone: 803-736-0522; fax: 803-736-9949). ☒

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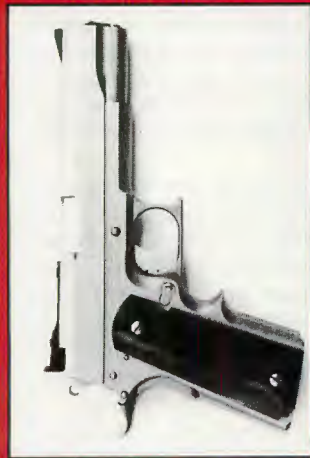
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Dear President Clinton:

As a citizen who has spent almost 50 years actively defending my country with rifle and pen on many killing fields, I know about war and the soldiers who fight them.

Homosexuals serving openly in our ranks will seriously flaw the finest military force America has ever fielded. You are dead wrong concerning lifting the ban. I request that you study this issue, look into your soul and see if you have the "right stuff" to change your position. Frankly, sir, I don't think that you do.

If the ban is lifted, I will join the ranks of the revolutionary army that is building to have you impeached.

David H. Hackworth
Whitefish, Montana

NO FLAGS FOR DECEASED VETS?

My father was a member of the VFW and served in the U.S. Army in the Pacific during World War II.

He died of cancer last year and the local Catholic church did not approve of the American flag on his casket.

The local funeral director apologized to me after the service and had my father's flag delivered to our home. He said the local pastor, supposedly a former military chaplain, told him "no flag."

I was not paying attention that day, having other things on my mind. Please

let your readers know that this is happening to veterans. When making funeral arrangements be sure that specific instructions about the flag are written in the estimated funeral bill.

John Toczydlowski
Malden, Massachusetts

NO FLAGS FOR DECEASED COPS!

Sergeant White is perfectly correct when he says that police should not be buried under the American flag.

"The United States of America" is exactly that: a creation of the states. Messrs. Addison and Smith ("FLAK," *SOF* June '93) are confused and almost incoherent; they spout romantic rhetoric having nothing to do with either the law or what the founding fathers intended. We are currently having the devil's time with a national police; inexorably acquiring the very bad habits the founding fathers feared. Look at Ballew, Lawmaster and Waco to see how a national police behaves. It's an abomination but it gets federal paychecks and, ostensibly, "serves America."

To my mind a policeman who prefers the American flag to that of his local community is saying, "I served you all my working life, possibly died for you, you fed my family and provided me a livelihood, but in death I refuse your colors."

I suggest that all those who were outraged by White's letter sit down and

review the meaning and import of the 10th Amendment to the Constitution of these United States.

If *civilian* Addison and *civilian* Smith take their Texas and Philadelphia badges up to Maine and even attempt to "serve" America — as they seem so eager to do — the state of Maine will have them stamping out license plates for a good long time, particularly if I sit on the jury!

Arne Eastman
Auburn, Maine

DAY OF INFAMY

How ironic I would receive June's *SOF* featuring the "Gun Gestapo's Day of Infamy" cover on the morning the Branch Davidians burned in Waco. Jim Pate truly rendered a prophetic work of investigative journalism, given the tragic conclusion of this event.

As a Special Forces operator for 15 years and one who has been both a police officer and a consultant/adviser to various law enforcement agencies and their emergency response teams, I would like to point out the singular action on the part of the FBI/ATF which rings false, at least in my professional opinion.

The introduction of any riot agent (tear gas) is normally followed by an assault on either the crowd, structure, or area so occupied by those being gassed. It is pure folly to expect one can flood a structure with this form of agent and not take immediate, affirmative action through employment of forces meant to secure the area.

Further, the compound's defenders — which is what they had become due to the siege of Ranch Apocalypse — were well-fortified, heavily armed, tactically proficient and committed to a religious ideal. With all this in mind, how is it the feds apparently overlooked the obvious fact that Koresh stocked chemical protection masks to hold out against riot agents.

I do not condone the actions and motives of Koresh, who is ultimately responsible for the deaths of those who followed him. At the same time, the mockery which led to these deaths seems much the responsibility of our federal law enforcement leaders who also sacrificed their followers (the agents) by tasking them to carry out an incompetent operation's order in an effort headed for disaster from the outset.

In the end 17 innocent children are

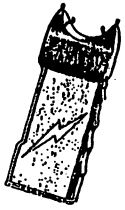


STUN GUNS

WHAT IS A STUN GUN?

A stun gun is an electrical self-defense device that puts out a high voltage shock. By merely touching a person with the gun, one can render even the

most aggressive attacker dazed, passive, and immobilized for several minutes, leaving you with plenty of time to escape. All of our stun devices are of the highest quality and use standard 9 volt batteries.



70,000 volt SPACE THUNDER

This is one of the most economically priced yet super effective stun device on the market. The weight is 7 oz. and the size is 5.5" x 2.4" x 1.5". Space Thunder

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**BS1 . . . Space
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\$39.95**

75,000 volt LADIES SPECIAL

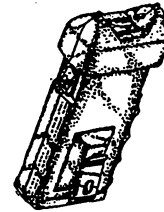
This unit is perfect for the ladies. A full 75,000 volts of power in a compact curved head configuration. This restraint device features a safety locking microswitch to prevent accidental discharge in the pocket or purse.



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This 80,000 volt stunner is combined with a high-intensity strobe light. When the switch is pressed, a charge will fire across the test probes and a bright light will flash. The strobe light is designed to disorient and disturb the attackers vision.



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This gun utilizes two 9-volt batteries and has dual coils to produce a full 120,000 volt kick! Its extremely loud electrical discharge is quite enough to discourage any attacker. Includes on/off safety switch, a battery indicator light and a built-in belt clip.



**OM10 . . . Maxi
Blaster . . . \$99.95**

80,000 volt MINI- STUNNER

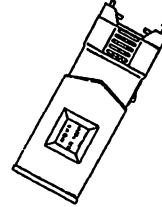
This little device packs a full 80,000 volt. Combine that with a small 5" uniquely shaped case with state-of-the-art solid state circuitry that assures rapid take-down and you've got the new Mini-Stunner. The handy small size easily allows you to slip it into a pocket or purse.



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Stunner . . . \$49.95**

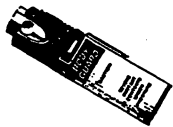
NOVA XR5000

This model is used by over 600 law enforcement agencies. The best quality and probably the "hardest hitting" stun gun around. The NOVA XR5000 has had more successful take-downs than all other stun guns put together. The NOVA XR5000 is the most widely accepted nonlethal defense device based on electronic pulse technology. Comes complete with NiCad battery, charger, and belt clip holster.



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Range: 4-6 feet • 15 one-second shots
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BSD12 . . . 3oz. Fogger Unit . . . \$18.95
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dead for no good reason. If this had taken place in some Third World country where Special Forces advisers were on-site, they'd call it a human rights violation as well as a massacre. In today's America, they apparently call it "justice."

Greg Walker
12th SFGA

Flak on our Waco coverage was particularly heavy. Since the full story is spread over two issues, we will print the bulk of reader response in next month's column.

"D" ON WEAPONS I.D.

SOF gets a "D" for weapons accuracy for the June '93 issue. On page 37 in the article "South Africa's SEALs," one of the sniper rifles pictured is incorrectly identified as a "Soviet-made Dragunov ..." when in fact it is a Romanian FPK. Though the FPK outwardly resembles the Dragunov, it has many singularly unique external features.

Also, on page 33 in Greg Walker's "Shot Down By SouthCom," he states "All American helos flying in El Salvador were ordered to fly with mounted guns [M60s] carrying live rounds in the chambers ..." Anyone who is familiar with M60s know they fire from an open

bolt and therefore cannot be carried with a round chambered.

James Bonavita
Virginia Beach, Virginia

The staff has been ordered to go straight home after work and study Small Arms of the World until their grades improve.

BILLARY POSTCARD DRIVE A SUCCESS

I would like to thank SOF for including the postcard in your last issue regarding Memorial Day celebrations and their impending attendance by President Clinton.

I copied about 500 of them and though their quality was poor (like our president), they still spoke the truth (unlike our president). I distributed them at the Big Town Gun Show in Dallas, and they were all gone in about five minutes. I wish I could have copied 5,000.

Stephen Paul Ellington
Farmers Branch, Texas

Our campaign to inundate the White House with postcards snowballed, with one source claiming that more than 5,000 were received. Calls from several liberal radio talk programs to our office confirm that the other side took notice.

AGAIN, CRIME PAYS

Interesting, we have a couple of longtime cops who face 10 years in prison and lost careers due to losing their tempers over the actions caused by an ex-con on probation after a high-speed chase. Meanwhile, the ex-con crook goes home a millionaire. Wonderful "justice" system. And they say crime doesn't pay. Ha!

Bob Steiner
Upland, California

CALIFORNIA THINK

California lawmakers must live in constant dread of the possibility that a private citizen might acquire the means to stop or prevent a robbery or attack on their persons.

The key to their thinking was revealed when they outlawed pepper sprays: "It's so effective that the last thing we want is for the bad guys to get hold of it." A normal person would assume that the bad guys were criminals — no way! To the officials the bad guys are the law-abiding citizens who might impede a criminal's peaceful conduct of his trade. The professional courtesy extended by lawmakers to their unelected colleagues — thugs, rapists, robbers — may soon result in a revision of the criminal code along the lines:

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BEST DEAL IN THE MAGAZINE!

SEE IN THE DARK AND SAVE \$2,000!
The very best Russian special forces night vision devices are now available in the US. Not junk; comparable to American scopes for twice the price.
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World's Best Book?

BOOK II - HOW TO GET ANYTHING ON ANYBODY - Lapin

HOW TO GET ANYTHING ON ANYBODY



"I bought this book to show people what bull these types of books are - I was sadly mistaken. Here's a check for two more copies for my partners." A major city Chief of Detectives \$34.95.

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BACKGROUND Same as above but includes neighbors, DOB, other household members, AKA's, usually phone number, other data. This search works best if we have a SS number—**\$55**

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License Plate to Owner—\$35; **Phone # to Address** or vice versa—\$25. **Other Searches Available!**

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- Maximum Firepower!** New 50 Round Magazine for 10/22. Easy-loading, reliable, and durable. Made in U.S.A. **Only \$34.95**
- The Ultimate Firepower!** New 90-Rd. Drum for Mini-14 and AR15/M16. Guaranteed to fit and feed. Made in USA. Specify model. **Only \$69.95**

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Protection for your phone, computer modem, FAX or telex. Lets you know when anyone is tapping your home or office phone. If the green light goes out you know someone is listening in! Order now and have peace of mind. #311400 (Retail \$59.) **\$29.95**



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Nickel plated Professional badges - Special Investigator, Security Guard, Special Officer, Deputy Sheriff, Special Police, Private Detective. Specify model when ordering. #B5 **\$9.95**



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Eight pockets to keep everything you need handy and at your side. Hide away hood in collar. Woodland camo. Import but excellent quality. S, M, L, XL. **Only \$39.95**



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Powerful 70,000 Volt Mini-Zapper

Smallest, lightest stun gun available. Packs a 70,000 volt bite that will stop any attacker. Five second jolt causes muscle spasms, dazed condition, loss of balance, falling to the ground, but no permanent damage. Under no condition can you suffer a charge-back to your body. 1 year warranty. Uses 9 volt battery. #310802 (Retail \$69.95) **\$49.95**



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You can hear a whisper at 100 yds., a car door shutting at 5 blocks; your dog hot on the trail 2 miles away. Extremely sensitive, pointable, electronic listening device amplifies all available sounds through headphones. Uses 9-volt battery. Warning: Not to be used for surveillance. #310300 **Special Price \$99.95**



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The safest defense product available. High compression jet spray stops attackers at distances up to 20 feet. Makes them instantly helpless, causing extreme burning to eyes, nose and throat. Works on dogs, drunks, psychotics and drug users. #261201 **\$14.95**



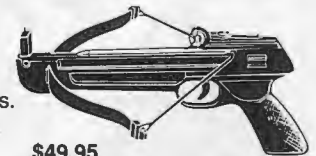
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Amazing device automatically starts your recorder whenever telephone is picked up and stops recorder when phone is hung up! Attaches anywhere along the line. Plugs into any recorder. Creates no interference or noise on the line. 1"x2"x2". Warning: Not to be used for surveillance #310101 Alligator Clip **\$34.95**
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Compact, silent and deadly. Powerful 40 lb. draw. Micro-adjustable sights. Aluminum body, contoured pistol grips. 11-1/4" overall. Comes with 3 arrows. #214005 (Retail \$69.95) **\$49.95**



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Supply Depot does not warrant that you may legally possess or carry air guns, stun guns, etc. By ordering you acknowledge that you are an adult and there are no legal restrictions.

1. Interfering in the commission of a misdemeanor is a felony.

2. Obstructing a felony in progress with or without a weapon is punishable by life in prison or by summary execution at the scene by the professional whose work was hampered.

Once one understands who the "bad guys" are, the whole purpose of the California lawmaking process becomes crystal clear.

Luke Asbury
Mill Valley, California

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

This letter is in reference to Dan Bayes and his concepts of crime and punishment ("FLAK" SOF May '93). I don't think it's any of Bayes' business if I smoke a joint or drink a beer. This is supposed to be the land of the free, I don't need to be told to fasten my seat belt, put on a helmet, register my weapons, etc...

This law and order overkill is pure bullshit. Bayes wants to lock up every poor bastard who smokes weed or takes a pill some doctor didn't condone on a prescription (after all, this cuts into his profit). Remember organized crime made its big move politically and financially during prohibition and the same thing is happening all over again with today's drug war. It's an excuse to

confiscate citizens' weapons and violate the Constitution and Bill of Rights while consolidating more power for bureaucrats and government.

The reason government won't lighten up on drugs, prostitution and gambling is because then we wouldn't need all the parasite lawyers, cops and prisons. Many of these folks would have to get real jobs like the rest of us. The three crimes mentioned are victimless.

Law enforcement and prisons are supposed to be protecting citizens from real crime, not dictating their lifestyles.

To put this in perspective, I've read SOF for more than 10 years, am a Vietnam vet (1967-69), a lifetime member of VFW Post 1872. I don't use drugs, am married happily with two kids and work for a living.

Dan Caywood
Hoopa, California ✕



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Size closed: 4.0" + thumb tab
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S.W.A.T.
Team Black
SOF Ranger

3. FULL-PERIMETER™ SHARPENED EDGES— Both main and back edges of Ek's newest blade style are honed shaving sharp for 11" of cutting edge. The reinforced point, combined with the strength of a Bowie blade, resists bending and breaking.

Jungle Camo SOF Ranger shown smaller than actual size.
Length Overall: 13"
Blade Length: 6-7/8"
Steel Type: HCS1718
Rockwell: C57-59

Ek Commando Knife Company and Soldier of Fortune Magazine have teamed up to offer you the ultimate fighting and field knife. The Ranger, with 50 years of battle proven experience and field testing by all branches of our armed forces, is the knife to save your life. And the SOF Ranger can do just that!

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Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.

ACHIVING

Croatian Troops More Interested In Styling Than Soldiering — Remaining Foreign Mercs Unpredictable

Text & Photos by Rob Krott

14 March 1993, my 30th birthday (though I hadn't remembered it) and all I could think about (momentarily ignoring an omelet swimming in grease) was, "What the hell am I doing in a dumpy hotel in western Bosnia eating Nicaraguan peanut butter for breakfast while an air raid siren drives me nuts?" Simple answer: Bosnia was where I had intended to spend the winter until receiving a phone call about a job in Somalia.

While in sunny Somalia I had sent a Christmas card to a friend of mine, *Soldier Of Fortune's* Croatian contact Robin Anthony, stating my intention to return to the Balkans. His cousin, Colonel Zeljko Glasnovic, commands the King Tomislav Brigade, volunteers under Croat control fighting Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The unit is based in Tomislavgrad, about 30 clicks east of Croatia's border.

When I got back from Somalia in mid-February, I called the folks at *SOF* and heard about their successful training-team mission to Bosnia (See "*SOF* Team Trains The King's Cadre," *SOF* April '93.) I was informed, however, that Glasnovic's brigade needed more help after several of its training cadre, including its executive officer Jure Schmidt, were recently killed in action near Gornji Vakuf, some 40km northeast of Tomislavgrad (see sidebar).

In two weeks' time I was en-route to Tomislavgrad, accompanied by "James," a former Marine and four-year veteran of the 82nd Airborne Division. We met a third member of our scratched-together "team" in Europe — "Mike," age 36, an ex-British army combat-engineer corporal presently earning a living blowing things up. I knew both James and Mike from *SOF* conventions and

through mutual friends. Two other members of the team (both Croatian war veterans) dropped out at the last minute.

We traveled via train from Germany and encountered no serious problems along the way, though a German *Grenzschutze* (border policeman) did ask me why I was going through Zagreb, Croatia.

"*Ich besuche meine Oma* ..." — I'm visiting my grandma. Yeah, right ... he took one look at our pile of bags (including two U.S. Army duffel bags and a Brit rucksack), nodded his head, smirked, handed me back my passport and wished me well. Must have been my blond hair and blue eyes.

One day later we were in Tomislavgrad. Although located in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the city is Croatian in language, culture and heritage. Most maps still identify the city as Duvno. Its "army" was known as the HVO (*Hrvatski Vijece Obrane*, or Croatian Council Defense Force). The Croat flag was everywhere in Tomislavgrad. Most cars bore Croat license plates, while Croat crests and badges adorned HVO uniforms; people drank Croat beer, smoked "Croatia Filters" and spent Croatian *dinars*.

We met Glasnovic in the Hotel Tomislav, a seedy, dilapidated establishment once described by *SOF* Technical Editor Peter Kokalis as a "half-star facility." I delivered a package from the colonel's mother, a kindly woman whose other son was enduring a typically brutal captivity in Serbia as a POW — Amnesty International, take note.

We discussed the upcoming training of two companies of troops. In Glasnovic's opinion, they were the worst he had and needed some discipline. It was up to us,

TOMISLAV

BABY!



British merc demonstrates firing stance using 40mm Armscor MGL 6-shot grenade launcher. Wide variety of weaponry now available on Balkan black market — virtually anything — for a price.



Brigade mortar platoon sergeant checks Soviet-made 82mm M-37 mortar captured from Serbs. Large amount of seized Chetnik ordnance is reused by Croat forces in Bosnia.

his cadre of foreign trainers, to take care of this. The colonel told me he'd get us some dinars as a partial payment of our months' pay so there'd be some money for cigarettes and the occasional *pivo* (beer).

Speaking of money, HVO monthly pay was 80 Deutsch Marks (DM) per month — or around \$53 U.S. currency. Quite a bit less than the 250 DM paid by the HV (Croat army) when I was in Croatia in the spring of '92. Among mercs the HVO pay was regularly referred to as beer and cigarette money. No one actually expected to get rich serving as a foreign volunteer in the Balkans, save for a few naive dreamers and those individuals of a criminal bent.

On the other side, the Serbs had supposedly promised Romanian "volunteers" land, houses, cash and loot, so Romanian mercs were flocking to Belgrade in respectable numbers. Russians were also entering the fight on the Serb side, but were thankfully fighting only in the east. Their motivation, besides being closely linked with the Serbs culturally and historically, was economic as well. Things couldn't be any worse in Bosnia for an unemployed Russian soldier than they were in Mother Russia.

Croatian Cannon Fodder

So far the HVO has been rather evenly matched, tactics-wise, by the Serbs. Speaking of tactics, around Tomislavgrad it was more like 1914 than 1993. In some sectors, opposite trench lines were only 200 meters apart (at one time there were bunkers separated by only 40 meters of no-man's-land).

Tanks served as mobile artillery and troops were literally sent "over the top" following massed artillery barrages

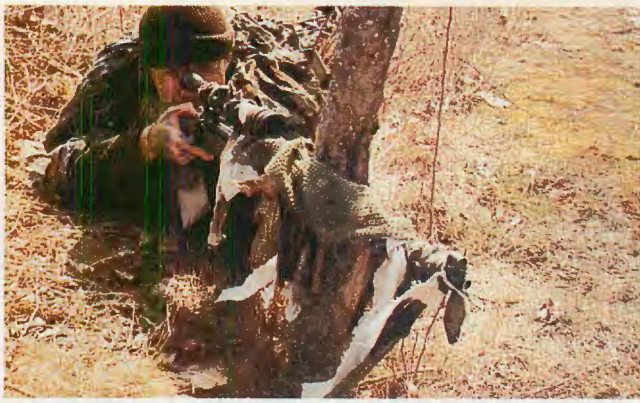
to attack enemy fortifications. It was the Somme with a rock 'n' roll soundtrack — *Achtung Baby!*

It seemed there had been little emphasis on an organized HVO training program. The troops' poor attitude and general lack of discipline was disheartening. They failed to understand the importance of training. The troops, who liked their *pivo* and *rakija* (a Croatian drink made from plums — there were empty cases stacked behind bunkers) spent most of their free time lounging in bars and cafes ... waiting to fill body bags.

Discipline was a problem, though certainly not as much in the King Tomislav Brigade as in some other HVO units. Many such units were little more than local defense forces raised from young men living in a certain municipality. The idea of suddenly living in a democracy brought with it some mistaken ideas of total libertarianism bordering on anarchy — it went to their heads. They failed to understand that military units within a democracy are not democracies themselves.

I told the troops that if an organized unit of Russians (especially elite *Spetsnaz* units or Afghan War vets) came west, things would really get interesting. They laughed off the idea of fighting trained, experienced and highly motivated (by cash and loot) Russian mercenaries. (Note: Recent intel reports have indicated significant numbers of Russians arriving in Donji Vakuf, some 50km north of Tomislavgrad — allegedly some were former *Spetsnaz*.)

The troops' negative attitude toward training (they were more concerned with styling the latest fashions, MTV haircuts and new earrings than learning to soldier) is itself a product of the war. There were some veteran fighters, real hard-core types, who knew what they were



British volunteer near Tomislavgrad in Ghillie suit with World War II-era Mauser 98-type rifle reconfigured into sniping system. Brit mercs in Bosnia have been targeted by Muslim extremists and by British army intelligence corps.

doing and who soaked up training like sponges; but others, kids mostly, blew off a few rounds toward the *Chetniks* (Serbian irregulars) and then thought they were combat soldiers — fully trained combat soldiers at that. Leadership at the small-unit level was non-existent.

Besides the total absence of anything resembling an NCO cadre, part of the problem was that the troops weren't centrally



This is what happens when you skyline a deuce-and-a-half truck before Serb artillery positions. Area around Tomislavgrad is a strategic objective for Serbs, who aim to cut off southern Croatia by driving through central and southwestern Bosnia.

billeted. After serving in the line four days they returned home and spent as much as 12 days of downtime. Tomislavgrad is a prosperous section of the country and many of the troops barely out of their teens drove Mercedes and

BMW's, courtesy of daddies in Germany making big bucks. Despite seasoned volunteers' best intentions and efforts to train troops in very basic light-infantry tactics, skills and techniques, I sometimes felt like we were pissing into the wind.

We had started by training a group of about 20 HVO soldiers,

HIRED GUN GOSSIP

Anytime you get a bunch of itinerate soldiers together cleaning weapons and drinking cold ones, you're bound to hear some good stuff. Here's a sampling from the war in the Balkans:

- Two British soldiers of fortune were talking in their bunker on the Croat side of the front line in Vidovice (about 30km south of Vinkovci, Croatia) one night when they heard English, as in merry old England — "Tallyho, old chap!" shouted voices from the Serb side, just to say "hello."

- A Spanish journalist actually received a command in the Croatian army because he spoke fluent Croat and was able to bullshit the local commander. This incompetent typewriter jockey sent scores of Croat soldiers to their deaths on ridiculous ill-planned missions. A Brit merc and his companions decided to "frag" said commander. As the merc told it, "We were shooting at him from behind and the bastard kept dodging them. The idiot thought it was incoming. No matter how hard

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teaching patrolling techniques, establishment of a linear ambush and various immediate-action drills. Basic rifle marksmanship was also covered. New trainees arrived sporadically. Some had received one day's worth of rifle firing several months before when they were drafted into the military police, therefore they all considered themselves expert shots requiring no further training or practice — a prevalent attitude among these "veterans."

Some of the foreign volunteers including myself billeted at a house in Tomislavgrad.

One evening after mugs of hot tea with plates of "bangers" (Brit-speak for sausages), everybody began to talk shop. The guys passed around some grenades ... always an attention-getter/conversation-starter in a small room. Considered practically worthless, the small, black-plastic fragmentation grenades are actually well-suited to room-and-bunker-clearing.

Rated higher on the mercenaries' grenade appreciation scale were the apple green-painted Serb grenades, but these were in short supply. There were also the striker mechanism-type grenades, requiring removal of a safety cap to expose

a plunger/striker, which must then be armed by smashing against a helmet, rifle buttstock or hard surface — in many people's opinions a less-than-ideal method. Consequently, they were considered unsafe (yes, Virginia, it's true) and were very unpopular among mercs.

This was all stuff I'd learned on my first trip to the Balkans, when some captured Serb grenades were found to have instantaneous fuses. As the other volunteers talked, I sat unconcernedly in a corner reading a March 1981 issue of *Playboy* (there were no copies of *SOF* available). My interest, as opposed to libido, was aroused and Miss March's feminine charms forgotten when various small arms began appearing from storage. Of note was one of the unique indigenous 9mm HS-type submachine guns (basically an improved Sten) designed in 1991 and distributed under auspices of the Croatian Ministry of Defense (See "Guns Of August," *SOF* March '92.).

We discussed the merits of various small arms. In Bosnia and Croatia, Heckler & Koch G3 and Argentine-made FN FAL rifles were available in limited quantities. The brigade had recently received 200 G3 magazines, but no rifles. Glasnovic and his driver had the brigade's only two G3s. Most everyone in the HVO was equipped with an AK-47 of Yugoslav, Chinese, new Serb-manufacture or Romanian type, with the Romanian AKs least favored due to barrel burnout after firing about 5,000 rounds; its vertical foregrip must also be cut off to ease mag changes.

That night I also had my hands on an AK-74 (5.45mm) — proof that Russian "volunteers" were bringing their own toys with them. The King Tomislav Brigade's armory featured a hodgepodge of weaponry: bolt-action Yugo Mausers, Yugo versions of the SKS (a dependable, robust weapon), various Zastava hunting/sniping rifles, PPSH-41 submachine guns and even a box of poorly maintained Thompson .45 submachine guns (no ammo).

The next morning I hitched a ride back to Tomislavgrad just in time to meet Glasnovic for our scheduled trip to the front line. We



Mercs mugging for the camera: Australian merc "Chris" at left, with "Homes," Bundeswehr vet and senior German volunteer.

inspected a sector where he'd been shelled twice (third time lucky?) and did a terrain walk. We discussed likely avenues of approach, both mounted and dismounted. Everyone expected a full-blown Serb offensive sometime in mid- or late April, because the Chetniks continued to bring up their heavy weapons.

Sidestepping Shrapnel Up Front

Glasnovic decided to emplace some minefields in two areas to deny the enemy's approach. He also decided to put in some more observation posts (OPs) and defensive positions around a piece of key terrain — a hilltop offering good fields of fire and observation of a large sector of his front.

As we walked by one bunker, the colonel spoke with his troops and they told him some engineers were going to blow ordnance in place. We walked on another 20 meters, then the engineers blew their charge. Shrapnel whistled by us with a quarter-size chunk landing between Glasnovic and I. He tossed it at me and said, "Good thing it didn't hit the old noggin, eh?" Neither of us were wearing our Kevlars.

Glasnovic mentioned how some of the German newcomers had begged him to go out on patrol. He'd consented and they had returned successful, having killed at least two Chetniks. But Glasnovic would say no more about it.

After several days spent getting acquainted with and instructing the brigade's volunteers, my interpreter one morning was



Andy, a German merc, mans 7.92mm MG42 machine gun at the front in Bosnia. In some sectors, trench lines are just 200 meters apart. Troops are literally sent "over the top" — shades of World War I.

Chris, an Aussie of Croat parentage and an Australian army veteran. I learned from him how he led the Germans' patrol.

The volunteers had picked their way through two minefields while negotiating no-man's-land. Even though it was a reconnaissance foray, Chris had abruptly changed it into a combat patrol when a golden opportunity presented itself: Three Chetniks had impatiently left their positions to go meet their relief.

Placing the Germans in an overwatch position, Chris and an HVO soldier crept forward, slithered into the recently abandoned positions and waited. Three Chetniks walked right into it. Two went down, dead, while a third fell wounded but regained his feet, hobbled to cover and screamed for help. Chris and his buddy legged it to the rest of their patrol and exfiltrated back to friendly lines as Serb artillery fire rained down on their earlier position.

Rolex Watches & Adidas Sneakers

To supplement the meager military pay in Bosnia, it was not unknown for a soldier or a "volunteer" to engage in some good old-fashioned looting. Liberating the spoils of war, so to speak. One Brit merc and former French Foreign Legionnaire told me, "I've only made about 500 pounds here in the last year. Though it has its perks, you know what I mean? You run by a dead body, know what I mean, and he's wearing a Rolex. What the fuck." Later he told me a bit more about the various methods of looting.

"When the shelling is going on is best. Also, have people put down covering fire to keep the snipers off you and you can run up and down the street with a hammer smashing in the windows and stuffing your shirt. Filled our shirts with bottles of perfume, we did. One bloke ran into a store full of Adidas trainers [sneakers], but they were all kids' sizes."

Now I'll be honest (good, clean-cut, all-American Catholic boy that I am), as for looting, well, a Renoir might tempt me (just to save it from the vagaries of war, of course), but cheap perfume and a pair of sneakers aren't enough to get this guy to run across the street. Besides, Glasnovic favors the execution of looters.

Looting has cost the HVO control of some villages and towns. Their troops were so busy looking for loot that they didn't fully secure their perimeters and got whacked. Chetnik counterattacks were successful because Croat troopers were searching for goodies rather than reorganizing their units and consolidating their defensive positions.

One day I "volunteered" 11 other foreign mercs and myself to accompany a work party to the front. The group, made up of occupants from the brigade's stockade, would dig in some new positions and OPs on the hilltops while we provided local security. Two patrols were already out securing the area for brigade engineers emplacing minefields.

The weather was warm and sunny, but of course as soon as we left the truck it began to rain and sleet. We patrolled the area (the

DEATH OF A FALLSCHIRMJÄGER

Fighting broke out in western Bosnia between ethnic Croat forces and their nominal Muslim allies (against the Serbs) when the Muslims refused to relinquish control of towns and villages in the Bogojno region as specified in the U.N. peace plan. The fiercest fighting was around the small city of Gornji Vakuf, now just known as "Vakuf" and located some 40km northeast of Tomislavgrad, where a half-dozen Muslim snipers armed with small-caliber hunting rifles racked up an impressive body count, consistently hitting their targets with head and chest shots.

"Vakuf was a bloody meat grinder," said a Brit merc serving with the King Tomislav Brigade. "They [the Croats] lost nearly 50 killed and around 140 wounded up there. More than they lost on the whole line." When brigade commander Colonel Zeljko Glasnovic called up an additional 180 men from his unit's reserve rolls, only about 60 showed up. No one wanted to go to Vakuf.

Jure Schmidt, a former Bundeswehr Fallschirmjäger (paratroops) major and by all accounts a fine officer and considerate planner, was Glasnovic's executive officer at the time. Schmidt grabbed 20 new recruits, mostly 17- and 18-year-olds, then headed east to the fighting. He was to deploy his detachment of newbies ostensibly to "season" the troops a little.

Schmidt moved north to Vakuf with another group of Croat soldiers to the little hamlet of Duratbegov Dolac and became decisively engaged with a larger Muslim force. "He lost it when his best mate got it. He got them [the recruits] all killed and himself slaughtered as well," the Brit noted.

Muslims had managed to outflank the Croats on both left and right; they were beginning to direct accurate sniper fire on the smaller Croat force. Schmidt led a withdrawal as his force managed to break contact. He attempted to exfiltrate south at night, only to be ambushed by a group of Muslims. Some of the dead were found with coups de grace shots to the head, evidence that the Muslims achieved fire superiority in their ambush and later swept through the kill zone.

One wounded survivor refused to talk about the ambush. Another, an Austrian merc, said he was pinned down by snipers before he could escape. The experience shook him up so much that he later left the Balkans for good. Schmidt's body was recovered laying in the middle of a road, stripped of his weapon, equipment and uniform. One merc said when first hearing of Schmidt's death, "Good, serves him right, going off like that. A German officer should know better."

— R. K.

Continued on page 68

MERC WORK: ANGOLA

Hired Guns Fight On Both Sides In Endless Civil War

Angola's government, locked once again in a grim internecine civil war against Dr. Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels, is hiring mercs. Monthly pay can reach \$10,000 (U.S.) on renewable three-month contracts. It's tax-free and paid into Swiss bank accounts — or so some recruits have been told. Some are Americans who have flocked to the capital city of Luanda, usually by way of South Africa. But there are a few problems ...

Mercenaries

— the subject of fiction writers like Robin Moore and Wilbur Smith — are active once more in Angola, though much of their work in this seemingly endless civil war remains obscure. We do know that many of them are South African, that there are also some Americans fighting for Unita (Portuguese acronym for National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), and that paid foreign soldiers are involved on both sides of the intensifying Angolan conflict, including a handful of British volunteers.

Quite a number of these soldiers of fortune have served with South African special forces units — Reconnaissance Regiment, *Koevoet* or 32 Battalion — in South Africa's army or with police during the Namibian border war. Others served earlier in Angola during the closing stages of South Africa's direct military involvement there against Cuban and Soviet surrogate forces.

Some of these erstwhile colleagues are now ranged on opposite sides in Angola's civil war, where fighting erupted anew this past January after 18 months under the shaky May 1991 peace accords drawn up between rebel Unita forces and troops of Angola's ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (known by the Portuguese acronym MPLA).

Longtime *Soldier Of Fortune* readers will recall how a few gravely outnumbered Americans and Brits fought a losing battle for northern Angola in 1975-76, working for Holden Roberto's anticommunist FNLA (Portuguese acronym for Angolan National Liberation Front) near Zaire's southern border. Shortly after the Americans' arrival in-country under dubious arrangements, one of

their patrols encountered the rear of a heavily armed Cuban column on 14 February 1976 and was quickly encircled.

A highly respected former Special Forces medic and ex-CIA operative, George Bacon III, was



Legendary Portuguese merc Daniel Francisco Roxo, a one-man army whose head was worth \$100,000 in Mozambique.

Photo: S. Nielsen

Text & Photos by Al J. Venter



killed by enemy machine-gun fire in the ambush along with six other foreign mercs. Executions or long prison terms in Luanda awaited the surviving mercenaries.

Thirteen soldiers of fortune were dealt with in a typical Angolan-Marxist show trial. Sentenced to death were Daniel Gearhart, a Vietnam veteran from Maryland recruited through his *SOF* ad seeking merc work, along with three Brits: John Barker, Andy McKenzie and the notorious Colonel Callan (Costas Georgio, aka "Mad Dog" Callan). The four condemned men faced an MPLA firing squad on 10 July 1976.

American merc Gustav "Gus" Grillo, an Argentine-American Vietnam vet, received a 30-year prison sentence. Gary Acker, a U.S. Marine vet, served more than seven years with Grillo in Luanda's Cadeia de Sao Paulo prison. Acker emerged to detail his experiences in a two-part *SOF* article (See "Angolan Reflections," Feb. & March '86.).

Today the majority of hired guns in Angola have enlisted in mercenary ranks largely because of the acute economic depression in southern Africa; jobs are scarce and the South African rand has all but

Near Huambo, three mercs decline showing faces. Most such "volunteers" in Angola's civil war have earlier been "retired" from militaries, many from the SADF, reflecting President de Klerk's vision of a "new South Africa."

collapsed against the British pound sterling and the U.S. dollar. Many such volunteers were earlier summarily laid off by the South African Defense Force (SADF) as part of President F. W. de Klerk's efforts at creating a "new South Africa." Clearly, special forces do not fit into his scenario.

Hungry Mercs For Hire

By mid-May this year, the MPLA was recruiting South African mercenaries in much greater numbers than in the past. Unofficial sources mentioned a figure of 150 men being sent north in May alone. Ostensibly these men are classified as "security personnel" used "to guard Angola's oil fields." All are well-trained professionals who saw action in South Africa's own wars in Angola, ironically *against* their current paymasters. Angola wants a variety of other South African military

personnel as well, including engineers with bridge-building and land-mine experience.

While MPLA hiring is on the rise, anyone contemplating a hitch in Angola should consider economic factors. Some doubt as to whether the Luanda government will be able to honor its mercenary contracts has been raised; for the average mercenary, this is of seminal importance and there is good reason for this conjecture.

There is little foreign exchange available in the coffers of the central Angolan government. Luanda has hocked its oil exports for years ahead to a variety of Eastern and Western nations; this is coupled with the loss to Unita of the lucrative diamond fields in northeastern Angola. What remains is in raw, uncut diamonds and there is not an unlimited supply of these either. There is not a country in the Far East (along with many in Europe) that Angola does not owe money to. In the case of China alone, Angola's foreign debt is reckoned to be in the billions of dollars.

Because of this shortfall, commercial operators cut deals directly with Angolan government-appointed agents. These agreements are clinched with foreigners being paid in parcels of uncut diamonds



by the Coke bottle-full. Weapons are negotiated through third parties or on a government-to-government basis, as was the case with a large armaments-bartering arrangement recently reached with Brazil.

Several hired guns working for the MPLA were killed in late March 1993 during an assault on Unita forces at the Soyo oil complex, located on the Atlantic coast by the mouth of the Congo River, south of Zaire's narrow coastal corridor. Much of Angola's storage, shipping and refining resources are centered here.

Assault From The Sea

The MPLA attack began as a seaborne operation. Merc officers came ashore in boats and led local troops across a narrow jungle and swamp-lined coastal strip for a frontal assault that almost ended in total disaster. There was little softening up beforehand, and what should have been a surprise was not. The mercs had to go into the "teeth" of a fairly strong Unita defensive line.

Unita commanders put up stiff resistance, then suddenly pulled back, apparently not wanting another slugging match with massive casualties in an area far from their home turf. Unita had no way of knowing how thin the attacking forces were. Being strictly guerrilla-oriented, Unita tends to avoid conventional set-piece battles. The MPLA attackers carried the day.

Government sources admitted to this

correspondent that if Unita troops had held out another five minutes, they would have routed the attackers. Many mercs would have been captured and executed, since Unita takes few prisoners. Savimbi certainly would have ordered killings of any white soldiers serving with the MPLA, if only as a deterrent to others thinking of joining the "forces of the devil" (as the MPLA army is referred to).

Unita troops attack in eastern Angola. By April, they'd seized major objectives such as Huambo, Angola's second-largest city, which fell in March with an estimated 15,000 killed.

Training green MPLA troops in G3 and AK employment near Angolan capital of Luanda. Both Unita and MPLA guarantee long-term Angolan oil credits for arms purchases, alarming Washington and London. Following Soviet/Cuban pullout, MPLA also pays for ordnance with raw diamonds.

Among the MPLA mercs dead at Soyo was Paul Smit, a former Rhodesian who had served in 32 Battalion. Also killed were two South Africans, Frans Kruger (known as "Bucs" to his friends) and Cornel ("Nel") Taljaard. Smit and Taljaard were burnt beyond recognition after their T-54/55 main battle tank suffered a turret



MERCS OR CAR SALESMEN?

Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos wrote U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali this past January claiming he had "proof" South African forces were involved in the Angolan conflict, fighting alongside Unita rebels. He claimed Luanda's government had captured three "white South African mercenaries" in Huambo and promised to present them to the world.

Two months later, these "mercenaries" — a South African and two black Namibians — told their story to a group of journalists who successfully ran a government blockade to enter the city of Huambo, where Unita forces emerged victorious after a monumental 56-day battle.

A 26-year-old South African, Jan Christoffel Born, told how he and two black friends from Namibia, Caroles Izaks and Joseph Piet, both 35, travelled overland from Namibia to Angola for business — he claimed they were car salesmen who travelled first to Lubango in southeastern Angola, where they sold one car and heard of someone in Huambo interested in another, so they traveled there and were subsequently arrested.

Whether or not the three men were selling cars, or involved in some other form of exchange such as diamond trading, none of them had the bearing of soldiers. They described how they sat outside the Huambo house they stayed at when MPLA troops entered the city. All three were arrested and imprisoned by the government, but were not told what the charges against them were.

A prison guard told the trio how national radio had reported the capture of three "mercenaries" in Huambo. Later, they were called up by a police official who announced they were to go to Luanda to read a statement saying they were South African agents, adding they would be well-paid for their cooperation.

Before this could happen, however, Unita rebels captured Huambo, forcing government troops to flee. The three men were taken from prison to accompany a retreating government column. After some days wandering around the bush in a confusing cross fire, they were let go; they finally returned to Huambo and reported to the nearest Unita post with their story. As of this writing, the three "car salesmen" were waiting to be repatriated from Huambo by the first plane available.

Angola's government accusations of mercenary involvement with Unita have been legion in recent times, underlying the MPLA's bid to win world sympathy. The government's cheapest trick to discredit Unita has been to invoke the word "mercenary." It conjures an image of a political movement so lacking in popular support that it must pay outsiders to fight for it.

As Angola's war escalates, there is evidence Unita may be approaching members of the South African Defense Force (SADF) to fight under contract, yet ironically the main recruiting drive seems to be on the government's side as its political base progressively dwindles. Agents of the MPLA are working to hire soldiers of fortune of every political stripe — from South Africans to Serbs and Bulgarians, to former Portuguese revolutionary officers of the Armed Forces Movement.

The first hard evidence that mercenaries were fighting for the MPLA came this past March, when government troops recaptured the coastal city of Soyo, where several multinational companies have oil installations. This zone accounts for one-third of Angola's oil exports; it was earlier seized by Unita forces in January.

At that time the government claimed Soyo was infiltrated and taken by Unita only through the assistance of "Zairean and South African mercenaries." Angolan soldiers retreating from the complex told persistent — and uniform — stories of "white giants" fighting for Unita, accounts sanctified in the Western press but never corroborated by independent observers.

Among foreign witnesses to Soyo's capture were 21 oil workers of various nationalities who were held hostage by Unita. They were later transported overland near Angola's northern border with Zaire and released into the hands of the International Red Cross by Unita's vice president, General Antonio Dembo.

A youngish man with the appearance of television's "Mr. T," Dembo is one of Unita's most able strategists, instrumental in consolidating the movement's political support in Angola's northern provinces. With a man like him, Unita hardly needed "white giants" to capture Soyo. Unita's traditional power base is in southern Angola, but Dembo's success was to win much of the north as well.

The story that Dembo had help from mercenary forces in Soyo in early 1993 does not stand up to close examination. Rodney Stevenson, a 52-year-old Brit, was among the foreign hostages evacuated from Soyo who saw Unita forces enter the town on 18 January, to become their prisoner soon after.

"Neither I nor any of my mates saw non-Angolans there," Stevenson said by telephone from Gabon soon after his release. "Of course, it's possible I didn't see everything, but we were captured by front-line Unita troops, and on the MPLA side I saw only Angolans. The Unita soldiers were tough and aggressive, but treated us with respect. Our conditions of captivity were a bit grim, but we had no serious complaints."

Reports appearing recently in the South African press stated former SADF soldiers were being hired to work in Angola, especially veterans of the elite 32 Battalion (the "Buffalo Battalion") with long experience in southern Angola fighting the MPLA.

Johannesburg's 1 March edition of *The Star* told of special-force veterans of the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC — South African military intelligence) being approached by the MPLA. Many DCC men had been sacked after an assassination plot

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hit. The kill was made by another white South African working for Unita.

Kruger, Smit and Taljaard were originally recruited by a Johannesburg company, Executive Outcome, which has since gone underground. Its CEO was identified as Eben Barlow, and he also has disappeared. One source said Barlow had joined the combatants in Angola.

Casualties Of War

Another man, nationality unknown, was reportedly shot in the head at Soyo by a rifle grenade, while a British volunteer, name unknown, was confirmed KIA. Other mercs were arrested and placed in custody by MPLA forces after refusing to take part in further battles at the oil complex. According to other news sources, some dissident mercenaries were being held in the Angolan town of Cavaleiro. These men had originally been hired by an American company known as Ranger Oil or by Sonangol, Angola's national oil company. Ranger Oil appears to be a front for a British oil company based in London.

Mercenaries subsequently returning to South Africa are outspoken about Angola — they say even \$10,000 per month is not enough for the privations endured and the certainty of execution by Unita troops if captured. Conditions on the front are excruciating; radio communications (transmitted in Portuguese) are bad or non-existent; there is little air support and almost no possibility of medevac by air. Even in Luanda, medical facilities fringe on the barbaric. Few wounded are operated on using anesthetics because there are none.

Still, reports of mercs signing on in Angola continue to surface. On 10 March, the Cape Town, South Africa, newspaper *Die Burger* reported some 100 ex-SADF soldiers had been hired by the MPLA to assassinate Savimbi. Namibia's *Die Republikein* newspaper noted 35 recruits passed through the capital of Windhoek in mid-March en route to Angola, provisionally "on contract" until 3 July at salaries of about \$10,000 per month.

At the same time, munitions are flowing into Angola in great volume. There are no reports as to what new arms Unita may be acquiring, but reliable sources in Luanda indicate several large arms deliveries have arrived from Poland and Brazil for the MPLA. These have been off-loaded from Polish ships in Luanda's harbor and at the coastal city of Ambriz, some 150km north of the capital. Shipments have included a variety of artillery pieces, armored personnel carriers, Soviet-made T-54/55 tanks, small arms and huge supplies of ammunition and spare parts.

American Mercs

Both sides in the Angolan conflict have also recruited American mercenaries. In January the leader of one merc group known to this writer spent a week in Johannesburg before flying to Huambo to

fight for Savimbi; it is not clear where or by whom his group was signed up. Though altogether unsubstantiated by proof, there appeared to be some sort of South African collusion, likely unofficial.

I was told more Americans would follow in due course, in all likelihood to also be channeled "through a Johannesburg airport." Kinshasa, the Zairean capital, was mentioned as an alternative routing into Angola. Since then, this group of Unita mercenaries has been joined by several parties of South African recruits, all veterans of the Angolan-Namibian war and many of them, as it was phrased, "to be employed as instructors or special forces operatives in long-range strikes on strategic installations." No doubt they were active around Soyo.

Although the future role of mercenaries on the African continent is unclear, South Africa is likely to prove a fertile recruiting ground for anyone wishing to involve himself militarily and clandestinely in the affairs of another African nation. South African soldiers are highly regarded in much of Africa, while their country's proximity to the war zones makes recruiting there less troublesome than in Europe or the United States.

South African soldiers are also in demand because they are "cheap," compared with American or European recruits. Yet the reality is that mercenaries are likely to have little real effect on Africa's hierarchical power structures except in an immediate area of operations, or if they are used to assassinate top political or military leaders.

Where The Mercs Are

From Zaire's border in the north going southward to the Namibian border it is roughly 1,400km, a little less than the air distance from London to Warsaw. The eastern half of the country, where Unita leader Savimbi has his power base, is so vast and underpopulated that for centuries it was known to its Portuguese colonists as *Terras do fim Mundo* — land at the end of the earth.

The handful of mercenaries active in

Unita troops guard Soviet-made hardware captured in battle with MPLA forces; from left, truck-mounted BM-21 122mm 40-round multiple rocket launcher, twin-barreled towed anti-aircraft platform and PT-76 light amphibious tank.



Angola in early 1993 were concentrated in and around towns in the north, while there was much fighting at dozens of centers elsewhere in eastern, southern and central Angola. Although mercenaries are likely to have some influence in battles for individual towns such as Menongue, Kuito or Lobito, or even in clashes for spread-out objectives such as the Cabinda enclave just north of Zaire's coastal corridor, they will not alter the essential "balance of conflict" in Angola, since Unita — despite a few conventional forays such as the battle for Huambo (see sidebar) — remains largely a guerrilla force with popular support.

Currently it is estimated that there are between 1.5 million and 2 million total trained, or nominally trained — or at very least, armed — combatants in Angola, with the majority fighting in regions as



diverse as the rain forests of the north to the semi-desert country along the Atlantic seaboard to the south.

In the case of Savimbi, several African and Middle Eastern countries have provided his rebel movement with weapons, largely because of his opposition to Luanda's past radical socialist policies. Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Zaire and Egypt have been mentioned in this context.

While Savimbi formerly received the bulk of his weapons from South Africa, this source has been abruptly termi-

nated. President de Klerk's domestic problems are too serious to involve South Africa in the subterfuge of another foreign conflict, a stigma (recalling Mozambique) he is finding difficult to shake free of. In contrast, and perhaps as a consequence of, the help Unita has been given by Western-oriented countries in the past, Luanda has been receiving Libyan and Iranian arms shipments.

Still, considering its preparedness, its flexibility and logistical expertise born of long years of conflict, coupled with Angola's great distances and punishing terrain, Unita — with its predisposition toward guerrilla tactics — is in a stronger position than Luanda's central MPLA government to hold out indefinitely in any extended hostilities.

The bulk of Unita's bush force remains intact. As long as Savimbi does not

get involved in many conventional military slogging matches with the MPLA, his most striking successes will result from well-tried insurgency tactics. Savimbi remains a master of the unconventional which, as his track record reflects, involves a fair measure of effective "derring-do." But one weak link in the Unita chain is a lack of any effective air power.

Where Aircraft Go To Die

The Luanda government is reported to have privately acquired Russian and South African aircraft maintenance technicians (paid in U.S. dollars) to keep its aging Soviet fleet of MiG-21, MiG-23 and Su-22 and Su-25 fighters airborne, as well as its Soviet-built Mi-8, Mi-17, Mi-25 and Mi-35 helicopters (with many Mi-8s and M-17s being adapted to gunship configurations).

The MPLA is seeking helicopter pilots; Angola has an indeterminate number of French-built Alouette III helicopters and is thought to have acquired more of these adapted to gunship configuration with 20mm cannons from a Brazilian source. Spare parts, though, are a serious problem, as they must also be paid for in dollars; warplanes and choppers flying daily sorties against an enemy need a lot of them.

We are aware that Savimbi approached Pretoria for gunships and pilots, but was rebuffed. Yet he has acquired an unknown



Author Al J. Venter at right talks FN FAL with associate, late 1975, while serving with *Chipa Esquadrao* mercenary unit who fought Marxist MPLA at outbreak of civil war. Mainly of Portuguese extraction, *Chipa* mercs "were distinctly unimpressive whenever they came under fire." Author left after one month.

number of Aerospatiale Puma helicopters, probably through Zaire. There is mention of Unita also having Alouette III gunships. It is not known who is flying these for Unita. I have been told that some former South African air force helicopter pilots were approached by Unita, but it is not known if they accepted.

The War That Never Ends

The Angolan civil war started anew following Angola's U.N.-supervised election in late 1992, after Savimbi refused to accept the balloting results. Unita claimed the election was rigged by dos Santos' backers. Savimbi received 40.1% of the vote to President dos Santos' 49.6%. Neither side attained the 50% majority required to win, but a runoff contest does not appear forthcoming.

During the Cold War, the CIA backed Unita with some \$250 million in arms and training to counter Soviet and Cuban support of the MPLA. Ronald Reagan even compared Savimbi to America's founding fathers. Today, however, the Clinton administration has recognized dos Santos and the MPLA for their efforts at democracy and their claim to have abandoned Marxism-Leninism in favor of "democratic socialism."

Politics aside and the elections over with, the current Angolan war has degenerated

into ethnic strife. Incidents of "ethnic cleansing" are reported by all sides. Unita is backed by the majority of Ovimbundu tribespeople in rural areas. Under Portuguese colonization, the Ovimbundu labored on plantations; today they hold no loyalty to Luanda's government. Dos Santos has the allegiance of eight small ethnic groups, the *assimilado* of well-to-do black civil servants inhabiting Angola's mineral-rich north.

And though dos Santos has spent a great deal of effort trying to upgrade his military and public relations to counter the Unita threat, his moribund, hidebound administration's massive corruption scandals and demonstrably poor rapport with civilians are only two reasons why Savimbi has had so much success in the past six months.

One of the biggest hurdles facing Angola's government is the fragmentation of its forces that took place after the 1991

Angola, including many roads linking major centers. Even U.S. State Department functionaries concede Unita training and morale are excellent.

32 Years Of War And Counting

In the end, it would be extremely difficult for a mercenary force — or even several bodies of mercenaries fighting on separate fronts — to make any real impact on the eventual outcome of a carnage that in recent years has left an estimated 150,000 dead and 2 million people displaced.

Both dos Santos and Savimbi know this. At present they are jockeying for position. Both men are also aware that Angola has been wracked by conflict in one form or another — including anti-Portuguese colonial civil war and rebellion — since 1961, a total of 32 years, or twice as long as more than 60% of Angola's population have been alive.

As *SOF* goes to press, peace talks in Ivory Coast between Unita and the MPLA have broken off. American and European observers have suggested that both parties are not interested in bringing hostilities to a close. More war for Angola is indeed in the cards.



peace accords between the warring factions were signed. The country deteriorated swiftly into a state of lawlessness and, in some areas, anarchy. Unita's better trained and motivated unconventional guerrilla forces took advantage of this collapse by making substantial territorial gains in all regions of Angola, including the capture of several large towns.

More salient is the fact that while Savimbi's forces have been driven out of many population centers, his guerrillas continue to control the surrounding countryside. Western specialists reckon Unita dominates three-quarters of the terrain in

Unita recruits on firing line with FN MAG 58 general purpose machine guns. Historically a guerrilla force, Savimbi's soldiers now assume more conventional roles — assaulting and occupying major population centers in Angola while controlling some 70% of countryside.

Al J. Venter, longtime SOF correspondent and Contributing Editor for Africa, has covered world conflicts for many years. A documentary filmmaker, Venter has also authored Africa at War, The Terror Fighters and The Zambezi Salient.

CZECH MATES

CZ75 Compact/CZ85 Combat Cream of Combloc Crop

Text & Photos by Peter G. Kokalis

It was one of the very first large-capacity, double-action 9mm Parabellum pistols. It still remains one of the very best. The Czech CZ75 was and is immensely popular worldwide except in the United States, where obtaining one has been a complicated ordeal until recently, or in former combloc nations where its caliber precluded field service.

The CZ75's features so impressed Jeff Cooper that they were incorporated into the ill-fated Bren 10. Its great popularity in South Africa resulted in the recent introduction of the SP1 pistol (See "Two Tough Afrikaners," *SOF* Dec. '92).

With the collapse of the Evil Empire, the original CZ75 and several new models of this series are now available without restrictions in the United States and are imported exclusively by Action Arms Ltd. (Dept. SOF, P.O. Box 9573, Philadelphia, PA 19124; phone: 215-744-0100; fax: 215-533-2188). *Soldier Of Fortune* recently tested two interesting variants — the CZ75 Compact and the CZ85 Combat.

Designed by the brothers Josef and Frantisek Koucky at the Cheska Zbrojovka, Narodni Podnik in Brno, Czechoslovakia, the vz. (for *vzor*, or model) 75 is a most successful blend of innovation with the best features of several other well-known pistols.

Chambered for the 9mm Parabellum cartridge, the CZ75 was not engineered for the Czech military, but rather for Western and Third World civilian, military and police markets. This is not really surprising, as the Czechs have been major arms merchants to the world since the inception of their nation in 1918.

All of the CZ75 series are short-recoil operated, with locking systems modified from the Browning Model 1935 (High Power) and the Swiss SIG P210. Two lugs

on top of the barrel fit into corresponding recesses in the slide when the weapon is in battery. A barrel nose, which is part of the barrel casting, is slotted and retained by the slide-stop pin.

As the slide moves rearward, the barrel is forced downward and unlocked by the slide-stop pin. This is a theoretical improvement over the swinging link and pin used on the Colt M1911A1 pistol. The recoil spring and its guide seat into a hollow below the barrel, as with the High Power. The head of the guide is dimpled to fit a depression on the front face of the barrel nose. The pinned, pivot-type extractor has also been gleaned from the High Power.

Highbrow Hammer System

The CZ75's hammer mechanism is a removable subassembly — a composite of those found in the Russian Tokarev T-33 and SIG P210 pistols. The hammer's retaining pin is exposed by a small hole in the left side of the frame. Only trained armorers should attempt disassembly of these components. As in the SIG P210, the CZ75's slide rides on rails machined inside the receiver. This system reduces side play, provides a longer bearing sur-

CZ75-series barrels have a barrel nose — a theoretical improvement over the swinging link and pin used on the Colt M1911A1 pistol.



face and enhances the pistol's inherent accuracy potential.

The CZ75 and any of its derivatives can be carried either "locked and cocked" (a round in the chamber, hammer cocked and the thumb safety engaged), or with the hammer down on a loaded chamber (lowered by hand, slowly and very carefully with the weapon pointed in a safe direction) the first round can be fired double-action.

The double-action mechanism differs from most others. A wraparound trigger bar engages an L-shaped interrupter pinned

to the hammer, connecting the two components. Pulling the trigger in double-action pushes the trigger bar and interrupter to release the hammer at the end of the cycle, when the upper surface of the trigger bar is forced down by the sear housing's

Sturdy and reliable, the CZ75 Compact can be carried in the preferred locked-and-cocked mode.



shoulder. After the first round has been fired, the slide recocks the hammer and forces the disconnecter to release its connection with the lower portion of the sear. This allows the sear to pivot rearward to re-engage the full-cock notch. A unique, yet simple system, it provides the CZ75-series pistols with a smooth double-action trigger pull weight of just about 9 pounds.

Unfortunately, without tuning, the single-action pull weight (usually about 4 pounds) on these pistols is invariably scratchy enough to grind the enamel off your teeth. There is a half-cock notch that, in my opinion, serves no useful purpose. I can think of no situation in which I would not prefer to carry these pistols in the locked-and-cocked mode. CZ75 series triggers are smooth and nickel-chromed. The CZ85 Combat model's trigger has an anti-backlash trigger stop.

The thumb safety is located in the proper place, on the left side of the receiver above the grip panel. Of adequate size and shape, it can be activated only with the hammer at full-cock and doing so

will not drop the hammer. Firing from the Weaver position with both thumbs over the lever, the safety is easily deactivated. Placing the lever back on "safe" from the Weaver position is a far more difficult maneuver, as it rotates upward somewhat stiffly.

Sturdy Magazines & Sights

The 15-round magazine has been cloned from the Browning High Power. The abbreviated 13-round CZ75 Compact magazine has an extended floor plate, curved downward at the front to serve as a stop for the firing hand. The magazine-release latch is located where it should be, immediately to the rear of the trigger guard on the frame's left side.

Magazines do not fall freely out of the magazine-well on the original CZ75 nor on the CZ85 Combat and CZ75 Compact versions provided to *SOF* for test and evaluation. The magazines must be manually extracted, with great effort in the case of our CZ75 Compact test specimen. This can be easily corrected by removing the

grip panels and taking out the flat spring in front of the mainspring in the frame.

The CZ75's high-profile fixed sights are excellent. The serrated-ramp front sight is 0.105-inch thick. The rear sight's square notch is 0.11-inch wide and it can be drifted in its dovetail in the slide for adjustment of lateral zero or for removal and installation of tritium sights. The rear sight's exposed corners are well-rounded to prevent snagging.

The CZ85 Combat model is provided with an open square-notch rear sight, adjustable for both windage and elevation. The CZ75 Compact's fixed rear sight is equipped with a white dot on each side of the notch, intended for use with a white bar on the front-sight blade (in this model, it is held in place by a roll pin to allow removal for installation of self-luminous night sights).

The steel frames of these pistols are machine-finished investment castings, as are many of their other components. The slides are made from extruded hammer-forged bar stock. Our CZ85 Combat

CZ75 COMPACT & CZ85 COMBAT SPECIFICATIONS

Caliber:	9mm Parabellum.
Operation:	Locked breech, short-recoil, semiautomatic; double-action trigger system can be locked with the trigger in the cocked position.
Weight, empty:	CZ75 Compact: 32.1 ounces; CZ85 Combat: 35.7 ounces.
Overall length:	CZ75 Compact: 7.3 inches; CZ85 Combat: 8.1 inches.
Height:	CZ75 Compact: 5 inches; CZ85 Combat: 5.4 inches.
Width:	Approximately 1.4 inches.
Barrel:	Six-groove, right-hand twist of one turn in 10 inches (250mm).
Barrel length:	CZ75 Compact: 3.9 inches; CZ85 Combat: 4.7 inches.
Finish:	Black polymer, matte blue or high-polish blue.
Grip panels:	Walnut.
Magazine:	CZ75 Compact: 13 rounds; CZ85 Combat: 15 rounds. Staggered-column, detachable box-type; steel body and floor plate with plastic follower.
Sights:	CZ75 Compact: serrated-ramp front blade attached to slide with a roll pin; fixed open square-notch rear; white dots and bar. CZ85 Combat: fixed serrated-ramp front blade; open square-notch rear adjustable for windage and elevation.
Price:	CZ75 Compact: \$510; CZ85 Combat: \$619 — both come complete with one magazine. Extra magazines, \$32 each.
Manufacturer:	Cheska Zbrojovka, Dept. SOF, 688 27 Uhersky Brod, Czechoslovakia; phone: 42 (0) 633-65; fax: 42 (0) 633-3665.
Importer:	Action Arms Ltd., Dept. SOF, P.O. Box 9573, Philadelphia, PA 19124; phone: 215-744-0100; fax: 215-533-2188.
T&E summary:	Superb examples of human engineering. High standard of reliability. Extremely durable, but somewhat heavy. Frame-mounted manual safety permits locked-and-cocked carry. Reasonably priced.



CZ75 Compact, fieldstripped.

weighs 35.7 ounces empty, while the CZ75 Compact drops just slightly in weight to 32.1 ounces.

Barrel length of the CZ75 Compact is 3.9 inches. The CZ85's barrel measures 4.7 inches — a conventional length for service-size 9mm pistols. Overall length of the CZ75 Compact and CZ85 Combat

shorter, two nested coil springs are used on this model only.

Both of our test specimens featured a black polymer finish. This two-stage process employs a German polymer lacquer of Swiss design cured over the components, which are first treated with a phosphate ("parkerized") finish.

is 7.3 inches and 8.1 inches respectively. The CZ75 Compact is about 5 inches in height and its magazine capacity has been reduced by two rounds, to 13 rounds. The standard CZ75 and the CZ85 Combat models are about 5.4 inches in height. All of these pistols are more or less 1.4 inches in width at the grip-frame area, depending on whether they are provided with grip panels of checkered walnut or of plastic.

Both the CZ75 Compact and CZ85 Combat share the following features in common that distinguish them from a standard CZ75: walnut grip panels, ringed "combat" hammers instead of the spur type; non-glare raised ribbing on top of the slides along with trigger guards featuring a re-curved front. In addition, the CZ85 Combat has ambidextrous thumb-safety and slide-stop levers as well as a beryllium copper-coated sear and disconnecter to preserve a constant trigger-pull weight.

Because of its compressed envelope, the recoil-spring guide rod protrudes through a hole in the front of the CZ75 Compact's slide, thus it cannot be "press-checked" in the traditional (but now thought to be dangerous) manner. Since the recoil spring must also be

chip-free and both wear- and corrosion-resistant, this tough-as-nails polymer finish should not be confused with the far less durable black baked-enamel finish applied to some CZ75s imported several years ago. Optional factory finishes include matte blue or high-polish blue. Any other finish desired can be ordered as a special edition.

Fit and finish of these pistols are flawless. Exterior surfaces are polished until all milling marks are removed. All radiused surfaces exhibit perfect alignment. Everything fits together with just the right amount of tightness. The barrel's rifling cuts and its chamber dimensions have been fabricated to the closest possible tolerances. Barrel, slide and frame all carry the pistol's serial number, in the European fashion.

The human engineering applied to this pistol's design is of the very highest order. The grip tang is exactly the right length to prevent the hammer from abusing the web of your hand. The grip frame's distinctive hump melts into the hand as though it were a custom-fitted prosthesis. The grip-frame angle is perfect; target acquisition is consequently swift and positive.

Disassembly Procedure

Those accustomed to Browning-designed pistols will find no enigmas in disassembling any of the CZ75 series pistols. Remove the magazine and make certain no cartridge remains in the chamber. Bring the hammer to full-cock. Pull the slide rearward about 1/4-inch until the disassembly witness marks on the left side of the frame and slide are aligned.

Press down and inward on the slide-stop pin protruding from the right side and withdraw it from the left using the lip of the magazine's floor plate as a pry. Ease the hammer down completely and pull the slide forward to remove it from the frame. Separate the recoil spring, guide and barrel from the slide assembly.

The firing pin and spring are retained by a firing-pin stop identical to that of the M1911A1. Take care when disassembling these components, as the firing-pin spring is considerably stronger than the Colt Gov-

When fed ammunition of the correct type, the 9mm Parabellum cartridge will do its job just about as well as any other handgun round.





One of the very first large-capacity, double-action 9mm Parabellum pistols, the CZ75 series still remains one of the very best. Shown at left is an original CZ75; upper right: CZ85 Combat; lower right: CZ75 Compact.

ernment Model's — it's capable of propelling the firing pin with almost lethal force. The CZ75 Compact, designed for the U.S. market, has a spring-loaded firing pin safety, so the firing pin should be removed only by a trained armorer. Reassemble in the reverse order.

Overall, this is a superb design. During my early years in El Salvador, I often carried a CZ75, which I still have. *SOF's* tests and evaluations of the CZ75 Compact and the CZ85 Combat did not diminish my high assessment of this series.

Reliability is the single most-important parameter in evaluating a combat handgun. I would not, for example, under any circumstances arm myself with the problem-plagued S&W Model 1076 10mm pistol, presently issued to FBI agents. If the CZ75 series is nothing else (and it is a lot more), it is reliable. I have fired many thousands of rounds through CZ75-series pistols, during which I never experienced a stoppage that could be attributed to the weapon.

Although its steel frame adds to its mass, it also provides added durability and noticeably moderates perceived recoil to further enhance target re-acquisition.

The barrel bushing is permanently press-fit into the front of the slide and this undoubtedly marginally increases the accuracy potential. Group sizes with both pistols are more than adequate at gun-fighting distances (most often 7 yards or less with a handgun).

SOF Test Observations

While it would not be my choice against human targets, Action Arms provided us with a substantial quantity of Samson 115-grain Full Metal Jacket (FMJ) ammunition for our tests. Many question how much velocity is lost by chopping a pistol barrel. In this instance, very little. The CZ75 Compact's barrel (3.9 inches) is 0.8-inch shorter than that of the CZ85 Combat (4.7

inches) — or just over 17% less. Average muzzle velocity of the Samson 115-grain FMJ was 1,173 feet per second (fps) from the CZ85 Combat model and 1,139 fps from the CZ75 Compact. This represents an insignificant loss of only 34 fps when the Samson round is fired from the Compact model — just under 3%. Not enough

opponent will probably be firing back at you. In which case he will have his arms in front of his body holding a weapon, so you may have to penetrate that part of his anatomy before your bullet drives into his torso.

Deputy Barney Fife and other armchair experts — whose only combat experiences have consisted of shooting their mouths off in the pages of a gun magazine and who attempt to establish phony credentials through volunteer service as part-time reserve officers in Podunk police departments — to the contrary, subsonic ammunition with 147-grain Jacketed Hollow Point (JHP) bullets remains the best combat load for the 9mm Parabellum cartridge. Black Hills Ammunition's (Dept. *SOF*, P.O. Box 3090, Rapid City, SD 57709; phone: 605-348-5150; fax: 605-348-9827) version of the 147-grain subsonic JHP-type employs the highly regarded Hornady XTP bullet, which will expand up to .50 caliber and penetrate up to 15 inches of soft tissue. That's just about the right balance between penetration and expansion we're looking for.

Another excellent choice is Winchester's Black Talon. The lead core of this bullet is locked into place with a reverse-tapered jacket. The Black Talon's jacket wraps completely around the bullet's nose and into the cavity, providing the most reliable functioning of any hollow point to date. Retaining virtually 100% of its original weight, this design allows excellent penetration and expansion, even through barriers such as heavy cloth, wall-board, plywood and glass. Typically, caliber 9mm Black Talon

bullets will penetrate almost 14 inches of soft tissue while expanding up to about .60 caliber. In addition, the characteristic six-point expansion of both core and jacket result in razor-sharp edges to further slice and dice through vital structures and organs.

A Smart Investment

Suggested retail price of the CZ75 Compact is only \$510, and it comes with one magazine and the best instruction manual I have ever seen packed with a firearm. A CZ85 Combat will set you back \$619. Extra magazines of either capacity cost \$32 each.

I have no reservations whatever about recommending any pistol in the CZ75 series. When fed ammunition of the correct type, the 9mm Parabellum cartridge will do its job just about as well as any other handgun round. Sturdy and reliable, these pistols demonstrate how well the Czechs have provided armed professionals with large-capacity handguns that can be stuffed into the leather in the preferred locked-and-cocked mode. ☞



The human engineering applied to the CZ75's design is of the very highest order. The grip frame's distinctive hump melts into the hand as though it were a custom-fitted prosthesis.

to affect the bullet's lethality.

As I have said many times before — and it still bears repeating — to enhance the wound-ballistics potential of the 9mm Parabellum cartridge, we need to employ expanding bullets. However, penetration is the most important single parameter in assessing performance levels of handgun ammunition. The bullet must penetrate deeply enough to crush, cut and break through the human body's vital structures and organs. Hollow point bullets should not expand to more than twice their original diameters. If we drive a hollow point at too high a velocity, it will always over-expand and reduce the penetration to an unacceptable depth. Penetration from 12 inches to 20 inches in soft tissue is ideal.

This may sound like over-penetration. But remember, it's 20 inches through soft tissue — we may have some bones to break, sometimes large amounts of subcutaneous fat to slide through, along with varying thicknesses of clothing and obstructions such as plasterboard or auto safety glass to pierce. Furthermore, your

IN REVIEW

by Peter G. Kokalis

The M1 Does MY Talking!



The M-1 does MY Talking! The U.S. M1 Garand Rifle In Pictures — World War II & Korea compiled by Robert Bruce; Robert Bruce Photography, 1992; 80 pages with color and black-and-white illustrations. \$12.95 + \$1 p&h; Dept. SOF, P.O. Box 482, Sandston, VA 23150.

While Hatcher's *Book of the Garand* will stand forever as the ultimate source of technical information on John C. Garand's famous rifle, Robert Bruce's compilation of more than 300 historical photos, drawings, paintings and war posters is the most fascinating collection of graphic material ever assembled on this topic.

Pictured are Garand's rifles from 1920 to the modern M14, including modifications, prototypes and selective-fire versions. There are rare color Kodachrome prints from World War II and Korea, as well as numerous black-and-white action photos from the European and Pacific campaigns up through the Garand's indigenous

employment in Vietnam.

The wartime posters, reproduced in full color, are both nostalgic and interesting commentaries on the psychology used by a nation at war. There are numerous photos of John C. Garand and the manufacturing facilities at Springfield Armory, the competing Pederson and M1941 Johnson rifles, the M1C and M1D sniper versions, the 1950s-era infrared sniper scope, bayonets, rifle grenade launchers and other accessories and accoutrements.

Use by foreign armies is illustrated, as well as the massive demilitarization (torch-cutting) program of 600,000 M1 Garands held in U.S. inventory by the Department of Defense during the late 1970s. The M1 Garand's recent resurrection by a flood of

lend-lease and foreign military sales from Korea and South America is also covered. Training and maintenance activities are illustrated using a number of intriguing archival photos.

While there is a plethora of odd and interesting photography, to me the most

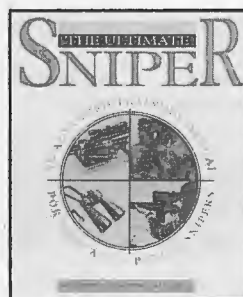
Picture-perfect shooting form with the M1 in sitting position demonstrated by Tech Sergeant Walter Barnett, Newfoundland, July 1943. Photo: National Archives/Signal Corps

ironic scene is one of Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr., who on 26 January 1945 said, "The M1 rifle is the greatest battle implement ever devised." Posing with a Leica around his neck and the ever-present factory nickel Colt Single Action Army .45 revolver on Patton's left side, the foreground of the photo quite clearly shows the buttstock of a captured German K98k bolt-action, the Wehrmacht's service rifle throughout World War II and outclassed in every regard by the M1 Garand.

Most refreshing of all is the modest price placed on this package of pleasure for all those interested in this "greatest battle implement."

The Ultimate Sniper: An Advanced Training Manual for Military and Police Snipers by Major John L. Plaster, USAR Ret.; Paladin Press, 1993; 453 pages, illustrated. \$39.95 + p&h; Dept. SOF, P.O. Box 1307, Boulder, CO 80306; phone: 800-392-2400.

Major John L. Plaster has



had his ticket punched in all the right places. He served three tours in Southeast Asia with MACV-SOG and led intel teams into Laos and Cambodia. He taught sniping to law enforcement personnel from more than 50 departments and agencies, including the FBI and U.S. Customs Service. He has the credentials required to write a respected and authoritative volume on the subject of modern sniping techniques. He has done so and the result is encyclopedic and impressive.

There are chapters on sniper unit organization and equipment, the sniper's rifle, selection and use of the sniper's scope, basic and advanced marksmanship, heavy-rifle sniping, binoculars, spotting scopes and night-vision equipment.

Tactical subjects include spotting and target detection, range and wind estimation, camouflage, stalking and movement, the sniper's hide, man-tracking, urban sniping, basic offensive and defensive tactics, also countersniping as well as special sniping operations and environments. Two useful appendixes — a glossary of sniping and marksmanship terms along with a listing of current U.S.-based training programs — complete this massive and well-illustrated effort.

Small errors are inevitable in a volume of this size, as will be some differences of opinion among armed professionals concerning certain topics the author discusses. For example, the buttstock, pistol grip and front handguards of the Russian SVD Dragunov sniping rifle are made of laminated wood, not molded fiberglass.

Wound ballistics has, unfortunately, become a highly charged and intensely controversial subject. It comes as no surprise that I part company with the author in some instances in his chapter, "Bullets and Ballistics." His emphasis on kinetic energy is incorrect, in my opinion. The amount of energy actually expended by a bullet in a body does not measure either the killing effect nor the stopping power, as there is no direct or linear relationship between kinetic energy delivered to the target and the incapacitation of that target.

In addition, I cannot accept Plaster's advice to aim for the brain stem (medulla oblongata) at ranges up to 100 yards in order to effect "instant" incapacitation. This is a very small, elusive area to aim for on a bobbing and weaving target. Just below the nose, a shot to this area could easily end up in the mandible — aim instead for the brain cavity. In most instances the brain stem will be crushed by temporary cavitation from a bullet into the brain cavity.

On a more trivial note, modern tracer ammunition with burn-through cups does not accelerate barrel wear. The tracing composition does not ignite until well down-

range (obviously to inhibit position disclosure). Furthermore, a rifling twist of 1:7-inch was chosen for the M16A2 to stabilize the L-110 tracer projectile, which is longer (1.15-inch) to provide the enhanced burn rate specified. A twist of 1:9-inch will adequately stabilize SS109/M855 62-grain ball projectiles (0.91-inch in length) and would, in retrospect, have probably been a better choice.

These criticisms aside, there is more than enough essential information packed between the pages of Plaster's book to justify its acquisition by anyone who moves in this loop.

WAR BABY! The U.S. Caliber .30 Carbine by Larry L. Ruth, 1992; 512 pages, 398 illustrations; \$69.95 + p&h; **WAR BABY! Comes Home — The U.S. Caliber .30 Carbine — Volume II** by Larry L. Ruth, 1993; 386 pages, 414 illustrations; \$49.95 + p&h; Collector Grade Publications, Dept. SOF, P.O. Box 250, Station 'E,' Toronto M6H 4E2, Canada.

There can be no doubt that Collector Grade Publications hold the world's record for the largest stable of definitive volumes on military small arms. There will never again be a need for published information on the U.S. .30 Carbine series, as Ruth's two recent volumes on this

topic end the matter, once and for all time.

WAR BABY! commences with the initial search for a lightweight semiautomatic rifle to replace the .45-caliber pistol and submachine gun. The cartridge for this project was developed by the Western Cartridge Co. by modifying the .32 Winchester SL (Self-Loading) round at the end of 1940.

Ruth provides detailed information on the preliminary trials, which included submissions from Savage, Harrington & Richardson, Springfield Armory (a Garand design), Woodhull, Bendix Aviation (a George Hyde design) and Auto-Ordnance. All these failed for one reason or another.

However, the most fascinating part of this story is the true role played by "Carbine" Williams in the development of the Winchester submission, which was approved as the .30 M1 Carbine on 22 October 1941.

The original design was that of Jonathan Edmund Browning, half-brother of John Moses Browning, and was acquired by Winchester in the late 1930s. It was unreliable and in January 1941 Williams — by then an employee at Winchester — was assigned the task of making it work. He added a short-stroke piston, supposedly of his design, and reliability increased. When

Colonel René R. Studler of U.S. Army Ordnance expressed interest, Winchester picked up the pace of development. Williams began to sulk and subsequently contributed not a single idea or suggestion and, as a consequence, the project was brought to its culmination by other members of the Winchester engineering staff.

After this stunning piece of iconoclasm, Ruth surges forward with the most detailed and comprehensive description ever published of the .30 M1 Carbine's production history by Winchester, Inland, Underwood, Quality Hardware, Rock-Ola, Irwin-Pedersen, Saginaw, Standard Products and IBM. The amount of information presented in these sections boggles the mind. I wonder how many know that, among others, Chester B. Stern Co. of New Albany, Indiana, provided walnut stock blanks for the Rock-Ola contract.

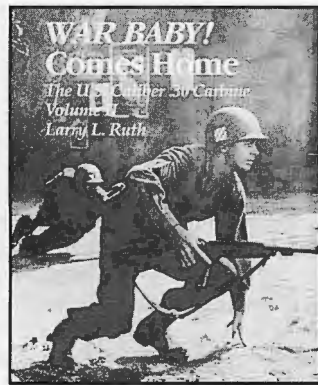
Also covered explicitly are the M1A1 folding stock version produced only by Inland, the T3 carbine and sniperscope, the selective-fire M2 and a number of experimental and limited-issue carbines. A chapter on "The Carbine in Depth" covers every component and all of their variations.

WAR BABY! Comes Home starts with an intriguing account of World War II Medal of Honor recipients who were armed with the .30 Carbine. From this lofty level we are dropped off the cliff with Brigadier General S.L.A. Marshall's highly critical commentary on the carbine in Korea. It's worth mentioning here that the late "Slam" Marshall's bona fides have recently been called to question by no less a combat veteran than Col. David H. Hackworth. Ruth once again carries us aloft with more official citation reports of Medal of Honor recipients in Korea, which demonstrate that the carbine was obviously employed to great effect in that campaign.

Accounts of Allied use of the carbine during World War II and subsequently in countries such as El Salvador, Germany, Israel, South Korea and Vietnam are followed by a look at postwar programs and experiments such as laminated stocks and muzzle compensators. The chapter on carbine accessories includes slings, oilers, magazines, pouches, the M4 bayonet (a derivative of the M3 trench knife), grenade launchers and sights, grenade projection adapters, flash hiders, sniperscopes, covers and carriers, tools, training aids and manuals.

There is an excellent chapter on .30 Carbine ammunition and grenades adaptable to the carbine. Most interesting is the chapter on foreign military small arms chambered for the .30 Carbine cartridge. Included are the enigmatic FN .30 carbine prototype, the Dominican Republic's Cristobal, the Beretta M57 and all of the peculiar French experiments.

All of the commercial .30 carbines, most somewhat esoteric (with the excep-



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WACO'S DEFECTIVE WARRANTS

No Probable Cause For Raid On Ranch Apocalypse

by James L. Pate

Was Branch Davidian cult leader David Koresh *really* the reincarnation of Jesus Christ, as he claimed? One might think so, in light of the affidavit presented on 25 February 1993 at Waco, Texas, by a Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms (ATF) agent who sought warrants to launch the disastrous 28 February raid against Koresh's Ranch Apocalypse compound.

Either Koresh could predict the future, or ATF agents were less than factual in presenting their case to U.S. Magistrate Dennis G. Green, who signed the affidavit, filed the next day in U.S. District Court. In his sworn affidavit, ATF agent Davy Aguilera claimed that on 6 April 1992, Koresh allegedly told Joyce Sparks of the Texas Department of Human Services "that the world was coming to an end, and that ... the riots in Los Angeles would pale in comparison to what was going to happen in Waco, Texas." Sparks was reportedly then visiting the compound investigating child abuse allegations.

Koresh was certainly right on one count. His world, and that of some 90 of his deluded followers, ended on 19 April 1993 in a fiery hell that consumed Ranch Apocalypse after the FBI used military armor and CS gas to force an end to the government's 51-day siege there.

But the most interesting part of Koresh's supposed warning to Sparks in early April 1992 was that "the riots in Los Angeles would pale in comparison to what was going to happen in Waco."

Either Koresh was a remarkable prognosticator, or Aguilera and his fellow agents are, at best, sloppy investigators; at worst, liars. Because on 6 April 1992, the Los Angeles riots were *more than*

three weeks in the future.

Sparks, on vacation at this writing, could not be reached for comment. Aguilera, like some 100 other ATF agents assigned to the case, is under strict orders from ATF Director Stephen Higgins not to talk.

But Aguilera's affidavit, detailing allegations of child abuse along with alleged weapons violations, gives the impression that a state investigation by Sparks was ongoing. It does not include the fact that Sparks' initial inquiries did not produce enough information to obtain a search warrant related to child abuse, much less to file criminal charges. The state of Texas later issued a three-page statement emphatically clarifying this fact.

If Aguilera and other ATF agents who provided information used in the affidavit deliberately dissembled, or fatuously fumbled, facts on such easily detected particulars as these, where else did they screw up seeking their search warrant?

Limp Writs

At face value, both the criminal complaint and the arrest warrant against Koresh appear to be defective. The complaint accuses Koresh of violating Title 26 of the United States Code, Section 5845(f). The arrest warrant cites the same passage of the National Firearms Act in accusing him of unlawful possession of a destructive device. But Title 26, U.S.C., Section 5845(f) does not prohibit anything. It merely *defines* "destructive device" for legal purposes.

Possibly Aguilera meant to cite Title 26, U.S.C., Section 5861, which *prohibits* possession of such destructive devices without proper licensing and payment of

designated federal taxes required to legally possess them.

Child abuse was only one of several innuendoes Aguilera included in his disjointed affidavit that were irrelevant to the two main crimes alleged against Koresh over which ATF has jurisdiction, those being: the alleged illegal conversion of assault rifles to permit full-automatic fire, and the alleged unlawful assembly of hand grenades and pipe bombs. One can only assume Aguilera's statutorily inapplicable innuendoes were included to provide a vague flavor of wrongdoing, possibly to bolster what ATF knew was a weak case.

The chronological discrepancy about Koresh's alleged statement concerning the Los Angeles riots is one of several apparent problems with the sworn affidavit signed by Aguilera, according to five attorneys familiar with federal firearms laws. These include a former ATF senior enforcement official with more than 20 years' federal law enforcement experience.

No Hard Proof

After carefully reviewing Aguilera's rambling, 15-page affidavit submitted before the 28 February assault, the lawyers noted how the probable cause required for issuance of a search warrant was questionable. Steve Holbrook, an attorney in the Washington, D.C., area and author of several books on the Second Amendment and related gun laws, was unequivocal.

"The [original] affidavit does not show probable cause," said Holbrook, whose law practice specializes in gun-related offenses. "Probable cause did not exist.

"There was evidence cited of a large quantity of legal firearms and parts, including interchangeable parts," Holbrook



Mopping up Ranch Apocalypse: Investigators move a body bag past a new flagpole erected over the charred ruins of the Branch Davidian compound. The ATF banner waves below colors of the Lone Star State, but where is the glory?
Photo: AP/Wide World

said. "But even in instances where the ATF talks about the M16 parts that are restricted, there is no mention of Koresh or any other cult members obtaining lower receivers or auto-sears, which would be needed to constitute a machine gun.

"There was no evidence of AR-15 drop-in auto-sears and, thus, no evidence of illegal conversions. Nowhere in the affidavit is it said all necessary parts and materials to convert semiautomatic weapons into machine guns were obtained [by Koresh]."

There were other gaffs, omissions and apparently misleading statements in Aguilera's original affidavit that were noted by Holbrook and other attorneys:

- **Grenades:** The presence of about 50 dummy pineapple-type grenade hulls are mentioned in the affidavit. Extensive machining and other alterations are required to activate dummy grenades. The affidavit fails to name any witnesses who saw such

alterations being made. Furthermore, there is evidence — not mentioned in the affidavit — that cult members were mounting the inert grenade hulls on presentation plaques and selling them as novelty items at Texas gun shows. The affidavit does mention attendance at two Texas gun shows by several cult members, including one possessing a federal firearms license. So it is a fair assumption that ATF investigators were aware of the grenade plaque sales.

- **Sten Guns:** This simple type of submachine gun is mentioned with the allegation that it was being manufactured by cult members. But the only evidence cited is a statement from a compound visitor who saw a resident using a computer-aided design program projecting a likeness of a Sten-type gun on a computer screen. A picture does not give one probable cause to believe in the actual existence of the thing so illustrated.

- **AK-47 Rifles:** The existence of semi-automatic AK-47 rifles in the Branch Davidian compound has been confirmed. The ATF affidavit alleges these had been illegally converted into machine guns. But there are no drop-in parts available to make such a conversion, legal or otherwise. Such a conversion would require several hours of extensive and detailed milling and machining on each weapon, done in a well-equipped shop by a competent gunsmith. Aguilera's affidavit does not allege that a competent gunsmith was actually attempting such conversions.

- **AR-15/M16 Magazines:** Aguilera cites a delivery to Koresh's compound of 60 magazines designed to fit AR-15 and M16 rifles. After mentioning the delivery, he states that an AR-15 rifle can be converted to fire fully automatic, adding that his "training and experience" indicate the M16 will accept these magazines, thus implying without further proof the presence of M16s. It is legal to own such ammo magazines; ownership of one or more magazines does not constitute proof of owning an M16, or of intent to illegally convert an AR-15.

- **Parts Kits:** Aguilera, who holds himself out as being very knowledgeable about firearms, cites the delivery of two "EZ Kits" to the compound, implying they contain parts necessary to convert an AR-15 to full auto. In fact, there is no such thing as an EZ Kit. Aguilera apparently misread the shipping invoice from Nesard Gun Parts Co., which shipped two "E2 Kits" to a cult-owned gun shop called the "Mag Bag." The E2 Kits contain parts such as pistol grip, heavy barrel and rounded foregrip necessary to change the A1 models of the AR-15 or M16 into A2 models. None of these parts have anything to do with full-auto fire capability.

- **Automatic Weapons Fire Heard:** Aguilera cites a neighbor's complaint of hearing automatic-weapons fire on the Branch Davidian property. A federal law-enforcement source told *Soldier Of Fortune* that at least one cult member legally owned an automatic weapon. Furthermore, Aguilera fails to mention in his affidavit that cult members had obtained "Hell-Fire"-type switches — devices attached to the exterior trigger assembly of certain rifles to greatly increase the speed of semi-automatic fire. Aguilera also does not mention how Koresh and other Branch Davidians had contacted the local sheriff's department to confirm that Hell-Fire devices are legal and do not require registration or federal tax payment.

SOF's request to lawyers for their professional opinions specified an analysis of Aguilera's affidavit for the first search and arrest warrants only. After four ATF agents and an unknown number of cult members were killed in the 28 February raid and shoot-out, probable cause was clearly established for a second search warrant, issued 13 April, six days before

the cult compound burned.

There was one notable omission from the second search warrant. While it contained updated allegations about Koresh's sexual encounters with various women in the cult, including females under the age of consent (details purportedly provided by cult members who had surrendered), the absence of any allegation about illegal drug manufacturing is curious. (It should be noted that ATF has no jurisdiction over drug trafficking or sex crimes.)

Vanishing Speed Lab

The issue of drugs became important after Texas Gov. Ann Richards publicly complained that the ATF had deceived state officials in obtaining National Guard helicopters for the assault by claiming to have "evidence" that Koresh's compound was involved in drug trafficking. Texas law forbids the provision of state-controlled aircraft to federal law enforcement agencies except in drug cases. A disgruntled ATF source in Texas told *SOF* on 29 March how ATF officials fabricated the allegation to defend their use of state-controlled aircraft.

If the ATF had "evidence" of a cult methamphetamine lab, as ATF Intelligence Officer David Troy claimed at a late-March press conference, why was it not included in the affidavit for the second search warrant? It is not a crime to lie to the press — however, to make a knowingly false statement in a sworn affidavit leaves one open to prosecution on a felony charge.

The remainder of this article will focus solely on the original affidavit for search and arrest warrants. Analysis of this is important, because the ATF's decision to assault the heavily defended Ranch Apocalypse — where the ATF knew dozens of children lived — was indisputably ill-advised and arguably unnecessary. But the decision by Higgins and other ATF leaders to take the compound by force fits perfectly with the bureau's macho kick-down-the-doors mind-set that has become disturbingly common.

Bureaucratic Bungling

As a professional bureaucrat and tax regulator who has never carried a badge and gun nor made an arrest, Higgins must ultimately bear responsibility for the repeatedly reckless, confrontational behavior of his agents serving search warrants, observed a high-level former ATF senior official who retired since Higgins became director a decade ago.

"ATF has some very fine agents," said *SOF*'s source, now an attorney who requested anonymity as he frequently represents defendants against the ATF. "The problem is that they are not very well led — poor management, a lack of leadership at the top. What the bureau needs is a professional law enforcement manager. Higgins is a bean counter ... a good politi-

cian who learned from the liquor lobby how to manipulate Congress and the press."

Still in regular contact with ATF agents, *SOF*'s source said he strongly suspects a cause-and-effect relationship between bad press ATF received in the year prior to the Waco raid and Higgins' decision to approve the large-scale, SWAT-type operation against Koresh. He specifically cited the CBS News *60 Minutes* broadcast documenting reprisals against female ATF agents who filed complaints about repeated blatant sexual harassment.

"The show had great repercussions within the bureau, due more to Higgins' [poor] performance than to the content," he said. "Shortly after the program, *The Washington Post* ran a front-page article about ATF's racial discrimination and a pending class-action lawsuit. The spate of negative press at the time of transition to a new [presidential] administration led to speculation within the bureau that there might just be a message here.

"Most agents interpreted [it as] the imminent and long-awaited departure of Higgins ... Higgins sensed the problems and some concluded that he was ... looking for a high-profile case to counteract the negative image and enable him to go to the budget appropriations hearings with a strong hand."

And what better place for such a "high-



Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms Director Stephen Higgins, who must bear ultimate responsibility for the federal fiasco outside Waco.

Photo: courtesy ATF Public Affairs

profile case" than Texas, home state of Higgins' new boss, Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen. The problem was, ATF's notoriously sloppy and deceptive enforcement techniques and its unskilled, unprofessional use of force had finally caught up with the bureau.

U.S. Magistrate Green might have detected this problem had he more carefully scrutinized the substance of Aguilera's affidavit, which on close examination seems riddled with misleading,

incomplete and irrelevant information.

Another question is why the ATF chose to execute the warrant when it did; why it was suddenly in such a hurry, given that Aguilera's affidavit mentions no alleged firearms offenses for several months prior to the raid.

Ronald Noble, assistant Treasury Department secretary for law enforcement operations, the office in charge of the ATF, is heading a review of the biggest disaster in U.S. law enforcement history. It will focus, he said, on whether the ATF should have assaulted the compound as it did and whether or not ATF agents missed earlier opportunities to search the compound or to arrest Koresh peacefully elsewhere, thus not endangering innocent people.

Why 28 February?

"Obviously we want to know what led to the decision being made to go in on February 28 as opposed to January 1, or December 1 or some other dates" or, Noble noted, "as opposed to never" having staged the raid.

But our retired ATF source questioned whether an investigation by Noble's office can be fair and impartial, suggesting that an independent prosecutor might be more appropriate. "The presence in Waco of national ATF personnel to help execute a local search warrant indicates that the assault was planned and coordinated at ATF headquarters. Under any criteria, the planned operation in ATF parlance was 'sensitive and significant,' meaning it should have been reported, reviewed and pre-approved by the office of the secretary." Such review and approval, he added, would fall under the operational purview of Noble's office.

The question of why the ATF, if it had evidence of federal firearms violations, did not attempt to execute a search warrant at the Davidian compound much sooner than it did bears careful scrutiny. Until 21 February, if one analytically follows the disordered chronology of Aguilera's affidavit, the investigation was desultory at best, with no apparent urgency.

Agents sought to seize a laundry list of items, including gun parts, gunpowder and chemicals, plus a host of other items such as machinery and published material. Aguilera's affidavit indicates that the gun parts were proof of illegal conversions. As with the alleged Koresh statement about the Los Angeles riots, here again the time line becomes critical.

The parts and other materials Aguilera implies were used illegally had been on cult property since June 1992, according to his affidavit. After this point, there was no new evidence of any activity related to any law over which ATF has jurisdiction, with the possible exception of an incident on 9 November 1992 when a deputy sheriff reported hearing an explosion at the 77-acre ranch.

KILLING BYSTANDERS, COVERING FEDS

"The only civilian unit that can eliminate the subject without eliminating the child are HRT snipers. They can hit a quarter-inch target at 200 meters."

— Danny Coulson, founder of the FBI's Hostage Rescue Team, quoted in *Time*

Few, if any, journalists questioned the validity of Coulson's claim about the marksmanship of the snipers on the FBI's Hostage Rescue Team (HRT).

Coulson's comment came in the smoldering wake of an inferno that engulfed scores of occupants inside the Branch Davidian cult compound outside Waco, Texas.

Quoting "a senior FBI official," *Newsweek* noted how the HRT ruled out shooting cult leader David Koresh because, the official reportedly said, "it would be a terrible precedent for law enforcement on the scene to be judge, jury and executioner."

In fact, there was already a precedent — a quite disturbing one — set only seven months earlier in remote northern Idaho near the town of Naples. In effect, HRT sniper Lon Horiuchi acted as judge, jury and executioner for a mother with babe in arms who had committed no crime. Her husband, Randy Weaver, had been under surveillance by the U.S. Marshal Service after failing to appear in court on charges of selling two sawed-off shotguns.

Acting against orders forbidding any confrontation, Deputy U.S. Marshal Arthur T. Roderick Jr. provoked a gunfight when he shot the Weaver family's favorite dog in front of Weaver's 14-year-old son, Sammy. In the ensuing shoot-out, Sammy Weaver ran for home but was shot in the back and killed. Deputy U.S. Marshal Bill Degan also died from a gunshot wound to the chest.

When the FBI's HRT took over the situation — another bloody disaster brought on by the heavy-handed ineptitude of federal lawmen — its snipers surrounded the Weavers' rustic cabin and, without any warning to the occupants, were issued rules of engagement specifying that they should shoot to kill any adult who emerged with a weapon in hand, whether menacing anyone or not.

From 200 yards away, Horiuchi sighted through a 10X scope and fired at someone he thought was Weaver's friend Kevin Harris, who was believed to have shot Degan. The target was actually Weaver, a foot shorter and much older than Harris. Horiuchi's shot grazed Weaver's armpit.

As Weaver, Harris and Weaver's 16-year-old daughter ran for the cabin, Horiuchi fired again, this time at Harris. His bullet struck the head of Weaver's wife, who stood in the open cabin doorway with a 10-month-old daughter in her arms. Vicki Weaver was killed with two other daughters standing beside her.

So much for Coulson's claim about the HRT's shooting ability. No one has yet explained how HRT snipers could use such rules of engagement in Idaho. The FBI has no power to change the law to allow officers to use deadly force when innocent bystanders are in imminent danger of death or serious injury.

The HRT in Waco probably didn't shoot Koresh because they already faced the possibility of one wrongful death lawsuit. Meanwhile people in Idaho want to know why Horiuchi, who told a grand jury he shot Vicki Weaver by mistake, has not been charged with manslaughter. Maybe federal lawmen are above the law.

— J. L. P.

But possession of explosives such as dynamite and gunpowder in Texas is not illegal. Cult members had legally purchased explosives in Austin, Texas, signing forms indicating they intended to blast bedrock as part of an ongoing expansion of the compound, including work on a large swimming pool that was still under construction when the ATF raid occurred.

There was no evidence cited by Aguilera's affidavit of any danger of imminent illegal action by any cult members. So why did a raid become so imperative, so much so that raid commanders ignored the advice of their undercover agent, who warned them about 40 minutes beforehand on 28 February that the cult was aware of the assault plan and the raid should therefore be postponed?

Bad-Mouth ATF— Get Raided

The only event described by Aguilera's affidavit that suggests a reason was a 21 February 1993 visit to the compound by an ATF undercover agent, Robert Rodriguez, who was called by Koresh and invited over. Investigators now know the cult leader was already aware of

Rodriguez's real identity and, given Koresh's repeated taunting of FBI negotiators during the 51-day standoff, one must suspect he was toying with the undercover man as well.

During this visit, according to Aguilera's affidavit, Koresh played guitar music to Rodriguez for some 30 minutes, then began to read from the Bible and ask the agent probing questions about his personal life.

"Koresh told Special Agent Rodriguez that he believed in the right to bear arms but that the U.S. government was going to take away that right," Aguilera's affidavit states. Koresh asked Rodriguez "if he knew that if he (Rodriguez) purchased a drop-in sear for an AR-15 rifle it would not be illegal, but if he (Rodriguez) had an AR-15 rifle with the sear that it would be against the law.

"David Koresh stated that the Bible gave him the right to bear arms," Aguilera notes. "Koresh then advised Special Agent Rodriguez that he had something he wanted ... Rodriguez to see. At that point he showed ... a videotape on ATF which was made by the Gun Owners Association [incorrect

identification — actually Gun Owners of America]. This film portrayed ATF as an agency which violated the rights of gun owners by threats and lies."

Aguilera concludes his affidavit by stating his belief — without citing further evidence — that Koresh and his followers were illegally converting semiautomatic rifles into machine guns and manufacturing explosive devices.

Rodriguez reported his 21 February meeting with Koresh to Aguilera on the following day. If Aguilera's affidavit was constructed from investigative notes, based on this writer's experience and the opinions of several attorneys, it would have taken about two days to compose. Aguilera applied for the search and arrest warrants on 25 February.

"The receipt of legal gun parts did not trigger the raid," noted a Washington attorney familiar with federal firearms law. "The receipt of dummy grenades did not trigger the raid. The allegations of child abuse did not trigger the raid.

"There was no evidence of imminent, unlawful action by the residents to trigger the raid. Instead, David Koresh showed an ATF undercover agent a videotape which was uncomplimentary toward ATF. As soon as possible after hearing of the videotape, [Aguilera] sought a search warrant with which he proposed to seize a number of items which were not probative of a crime.

"That is to say, the search warrant was not supported by probable cause ... One cannot escape the inference that this raid was not to get illegal guns, but to teach a lesson to a disrespectful citizen who had expressed some resentment over past abuses by BATF. If so, given that the lesson ended in the agonizing deaths by fire of two-dozen children and more than twice as many adults, it was an expensive, horrible lesson."

No Knock? No Problem!

One other problem with the original search warrant must be addressed in court, or at least by an independent prosecutor, according to the former senior ATF official — the manner in which agents attempted to serve the warrant. No-knock search warrants, in which agents may knock down doors and burst in heavily armed without prior warning to occupants, must be specifically applied for. The warrant obtained by ATF was not a no-knock warrant. Yet SOF's ex-ATF source believes the agents meant to serve it in that fashion.

One indication, he said, was the presence on 28 February of what the ATF calls Entry Control Teams, or ECTs, comprised of agents specially selected for their aggressive natures. Such agents are trained "at a military base in the southeastern ... United States," he said. "Each ECT in-

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The 1989 death of a black Miami motorcyclist being pursued by police triggered riots. Police Officer William Lozano was subsequently convicted in the death, but the Florida State Court of Appeals ruled Lozano must be given a new trial, and further rioting followed that unpopular decision. Could this rioting convince the federal government that justice was not done and subject Lozano to yet another trial on federal charges?

When the trial of officers charged with using excessive force in the arrest of Rodney King ended in acquittal, the perceived injustice triggered days of riots, arson and looting in Los Angeles. Was it the threat of additional or continuing violence, or a concern for justice that led to the retrial of these officers on federal charges: Was the pall of smoke that still hung over the L.A. courtroom a factor in their subsequent convictions?

The federal trial of four Los Angeles police officers charged with violating the civil rights of “motorist” Rodney King ended with convictions of Sergeant Stacey Koon and Officer Laurence Powell, and the acquittals of Officers Theodore Briseno and Timothy Wind. The verdict was warmly greeted by President Clinton, Attorney General Janet Reno, Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, a majority of the public and most of the media, all of whom heaved a collective sigh of relief. Even the conservative *Washington Times* spoke of “the common sense that prevailed among the jurors.” Los Angeles would not be torched and looted by the mob, an outcome predicted and widely feared if there were no convictions.

Clash of Constitutional Rights

Defense attorneys praised Judge John G. Davies for fairness, but the judge himself acknowledged that subjecting Koon, Briseno and Wind, who had been acquitted on all counts last year, to a second trial might not be fair. He said at a pretrial hearing in November, “Fairness plays no part. There are good and equitable reasons why this case should not be tried, but the government has the right.”

Ironically, in a case charging the police with violating the constitutional rights of King by striking him illegally at least one time, the media

JUSTICE IN DOUBLE JEOPARDY

Fearful Feds Bash Bill Of Rights To Jail L.A. Cops

by Reed Irvine & Joseph Goulden

Photos by AP/Wide World

have shown remarkably little concern about what many consider to be the violation of each officer's constitutional right under the Fifth Amendment not "to be twice put in jeopardy of his life or limb" for the same offense.

In times past, when state prosecutions of crimes by whites against minorities were rigged or badly botched because of racial prejudice, a good case could be made for circumventing the double-jeopardy clause, to see justice done. The Civil Rights Act of 1870 authorized the federal government to try persons for violating civil rights of blacks even if acquitted of the underlying crime by state courts. But it was applied in the case of the Los Angeles police officers not because of any corrupt rigging of the state trial: It was invoked because the officers had been tried in the media and found guilty by the mobs that burned Los Angeles.

Influence Of The Mob

A juror, interviewed by KNBC-TV Los Angeles after the verdict, said the jury never discussed the threat of riots if it acquitted all defendants, that this played no role in their deliberations. Harland Braun, attorney for acquitted defendant Briseno, told reporters he believed it was "beyond the capacity of 12 jurors to decide the facts of this case, given the social and political background that the case had."

"That doesn't mean," he said, "that they looked at the facts and said, 'Oh, oh, we're going to cause a riot if we vote not guilty.' It means they didn't want to vote not guilty, and so they looked at the facts which let them off the hook, so to speak.

That doesn't mean there's anything wrong with these jurors. It's just human nature." Braun explained: "I suspect that if you put 12 average people in a jury box and say to them, 'If you vote not guilty, that dynamite in your neighborhood may go off, and your friends and neighbors may be around that dynamite.' It may be more than the human machine or mind can bear. So it may be that at certain points our system can't work."

A Juror Explains The Verdicts

Braun's view, that jurors were probably looking for evidence to justify verdicts they wanted, appears to be borne out by the interview juror #9 gave to KNBC News correspondent Furnell Chatman, which was rebroadcast by C-SPAN. The juror said the evidence on which they based their verdicts was simply the videotape, but to determine the critical issue of intent, he relied on his interpretation of what King was thinking! "There comes a point where he [King] is not trying to get up, and they're hitting him anyway. He's trying to figure out why they're hitting him. He knows there must be a reason for that. And after a while it becomes apparent to him that they're hitting him just to hit him."

The jurors in the first trial were unable to agree on any single blow they could say represented unnecessary and excessive force. But juror #9 said a single baton strike to King's chest was the most convincing piece of video that led to Powell's conviction.

Apparently, like the jury in the first trial, these jurors could not find one single blow which they could unanimously agree

lacked any justification. The blow to King's chest that juror #9 and three others found convicting was delivered while King was refusing to obey orders to lie face down with his hands behind him.

Chatman reported that juror #9 said Koon was convicted because he didn't do his job. Pointing to the videotape, the juror said of Koon, "Now he is not giving this man enough time to comply. He's allowing these guys to hit him, he's yelling for him to get down, and was not allowing the man enough time to comply." But the video was not 81 seconds of continuous beating. It shows the officers striking King when, they argued, he made movements indicating he might be trying to get up or reach a weapon. The defense attorneys and Koon himself pointed out to the jury the pauses during which there were no blows or kicks, giving King plenty of time to comply.

Juror #9 explained his reasons for acquitting Wind and Briseno. Commenting on the video where Wind is seen shoving King's head down with his foot, the juror said, "He does not have the right to kick King in that manner to effect an arrest. If he had done that, we would have found him guilty. But we were not sure if he was trying to effect an arrest or if he was merely trying to get him down to stop the beating. We couldn't say definitely what his motivation, what his intentions were, and that is one of the guidelines we had was intentions. And because of that, of reasonable doubt of his intention, we could not find him guilty."

For Briseno, who trod upon King's neck at one point, the juror had only praise. He,



like Powell and Wind, went along with the strategy of having Koon testify for all four at the second trial that the entire beating was a well-managed use of force. But the prosecution showed part of his videotaped testimony from the first trial in which Briseno said, "I didn't understand what was going on out there. I just didn't understand it. I was trying to look at it and view what they were looking at, and I couldn't see it."

Despite all the money and effort the federal government put into the second trial, it succeeded in getting only two convictions out of four, after a week's deliberation by jurors with the threat of riots hanging over their heads. This was obviously not the open-and-shut case the public had been led to believe by repeated televised showings of selected videotape. That point was made by Lou Cannon, covering the trial for *The Washington Post*, in an op-ed column published on 24 March 1993, after the prosecution rested and after only three days of hearing witnesses for the defense.

Cannon wrote, "There's a dirty little secret shared by prosecutors, defense attorneys and much of the media covering the Rodney G. King civil rights trial that the public deserves to share. The secret is that this is no open-and-shut case, but a difficult and complex prosecution with many possible outcomes. Most Americans have formed their opinions from a widely televised segment of a videotape showing Los Angeles police officers beating King into submission ... This segment is sickening, but there is more on the videotape than the segment and more to the case than the videotape."

Cannon went on to relate the facts that we reported last year in the AIM report "Trial By Media" — King's having thrown

Catalyst for controversy was the 1991 arrest and beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles. Did officers use excessive force to effect the arrest? The first jury said no, and L.A. erupted in riots. When federal prosecutors re-tried the police defendants on civil rights charges, were they protecting the civil rights of King, or trouncing the civil rights of the officers by subjecting them to double jeopardy?

off two officers who had tried to handcuff him, his having been hit with two TASER shots of 50,000 volts each — enough to drop a buffalo — and then leaping to his feet and lunging at Powell. He pointed out that the videotape began with the lunge at Powell, but that, he said, is usually omitted when the tape is shown on television. He pointed out that its omission "does tend to alter viewer perception of what follows."

Cannon wrote, "The more one looks at the videotape and hears the testimony, the more confusing this case becomes. Did the officers really think that King might be armed? It isn't clear. Did they use racial epithets? Only King has made this charge, and he isn't sure. Did they become so carried away after the high-speed chase and King's exhibition of strength that they continued beating him when they should have stopped? Probably, but the evidence is contradictory ... All the defendants had a different perception of the incident. Briseno thought Powell was 'out of control,' as he testified at Simi Valley, and that Koon had mismanaged the arrest. Powell said he was 'scared' and thought he was going to shoot King. Koon was happy when he heard about the videotape; he was so confident he had followed proper Los Angeles Police Department procedures that he thought it would make a terrific training film. I hope the jurors understand better than I do what procedures Koon and the others were supposed to be following. Expert witnesses for both sides with many years of service on the Los Angeles Police Department have freely contradicted them-

selves and each other on the policies and rules that officers should follow when confronted with hostile suspects."

No Grounds For Double Jeopardy

In the eyes of that veteran reporter, this was obviously not a case where the verdict in the state trial was clearly the unjust product of bias against blacks either on the part of the prosecution or the jury, as was so widely believed by those who ordered and defended the decision to subject the defendants to double jeopardy. The reporting of the trial day-by-day reflected the complexities inherent in the case that no layman could possibly see in the 10 to 30 seconds of videotape that was shown on television almost every time the case was mentioned on the news. The first jury, deliberating free of fear of any consequences of their verdict, found unanimously that there was reasonable doubt of the defendants' guilt on all charges, except one against Powell in which four jurors held out for conviction.

Renowned criminal lawyer F. Lee Bailey said on *The CBS Evening News* of 9 March 1993, "There are two ghosts in this courtroom that could affect the verdict. Number one: Some people deeply resent the fact that these fellows are being tried twice. The government is taking a second bite at the apple. Why them and not other people? Because that's against policy. Number two: The fear of rioting if there's an acquittal. I think those two factors can't be washed out of this case no matter how

careful the judge and the lawyers." The first ghost obviously had less influence on the jury than the second.

This raises serious fundamental questions about the legitimacy of the second verdict, questions that so far are not being discussed by the media. Did not the Department of Justice violate the constitutional rights of Koon, Powell, Briseno and Wind by subjecting them to double jeopardy after they had already been acquitted in a trial that was neither corrupt, rigged, mishandled nor unfair? Could jurors living in a city threatened with riots by the same mobs who torched it less than a year earlier really give the defendants benefit of reasonable doubt? Was not the danger, that they would instead give the benefit of doubt to the prosecution, increased by the lopsided TV coverage of the case, with its repeated showings of inflammatory portions of the videotape of the police beating King?

Big Brother Beckons

This circumvention of constitutional prohibitions of double jeopardy has so far survived legal challenges, but should it? This unrestrained exercise of power by the federal government endangers an important constitutional right and threatens to give Big Brother unprecedented power to meddle in local affairs. Attorney General Janet Reno, appearing on *Meet the Press* 18 April 1993, was asked for her reaction to a statement by Democratic Rep. John Conyers Jr. of Detroit that the Clinton administration should look into cases all across the country of racially motivated police brutality. Reno, who had an anti-police reputation in her previous position, responded: "We are going to try to pursue any claim of police brutality where local and state officials have not been able to or have not taken appropriate action to make sure it is carefully investigated. We want to make sure the investigation is fair, thorough and as objective as possible, and we are going to take appropriate action based on the evidence and the law."

If the standard is to be the same one applied in the case of the four Los Angeles police officers, we can look forward to a rash of second-guessing by the Justice Department, not only of police department administrative decisions but of jury trials where the verdict does not satisfy the president or the attorney general — or any mob strong enough to intimidate them. Three days of rioting in Miami followed the January 1989 death of a black motorcyclist who ran into an auto while being pursued by police. Officer William Lozano was

convicted by a Miami jury of having wrongfully caused his death. The Florida State Court of Appeals ruled in June 1991 that the lower court had erred by not considering a defense motion to move the trial out of Miami, and that Lozano must be given a new trial in a different venue: This appellate court decision was greeted by further riots. The defense in the Los Angeles case wanted the federal trial held in a city where the jurors would be less influenced by the threat of rioting, but the government succeeded in keeping it in Los Angeles. Now that Lozano has been found innocent, resulting in sporadic violence, will Clinton or Reno order him tried for "violating the civil rights" of the motorcyclist? That would be *triple* jeopardy, but what's to stop it?

Trial By Media II

As in the state trial a year ago, the trial by media paralleled the trial in the courtroom. In the first trial, the jury reached a verdict very different from what the public was led to expect by the media coverage. That was largely because the public had been repeatedly shown selected portions of the videotape which left the impression the police had beaten King mercilessly, for no reason other than to punish him for having led them in a high speed chase — or, according to some, because

the verdict set off the riots. AIM queried the networks about their failure to show this part of the tape. ABC and CBS claimed they had shown it, but they couldn't say where or when. None of them did much better during the second trial. Although portions of the King videotape were shown on 30 different ABC, CBS, and NBC news programs during that trial, the four-second portion showing King lunging at Powell was aired on only one of their evening news programs — ABC's *World News Tonight* on 11 March 1993.

ABC's *Good Morning America* aired it on 25 March 1993, showing much of the tape from the beginning, in slow motion, with defense attorney Ira Salzman explaining what the officers were doing and why. The only other showing by any of these three networks was on the CBS *Morning Show* on 26 February 1993, when 51 seconds of the tape was run as background for a story about blurred portions of the video having been enhanced by the prosecution in an effort to show that King had been struck in the head. The viewer's attention was not directed to the key four-second portion showing King's lunge that immediately preceded the blurred portion. NBC didn't show it at all, not even on the *Today* show where Bailey discussed its importance.

When Rush Limbaugh showed the same

This unrestrained exercise of power by the federal government endangers an important constitutional right and threatens to give Big Brother unprecedented power to meddle in local affairs.

he was black and they were white.

In the courtroom the defense used the videotape, that had convicted their clients in the eyes of the public, to convince the jury that the police beat King only because this was necessary to get him to quit resisting arrest and let them handcuff him. Dorothy Bailey, jury foreman in the first trial, told why the videotape shown to the jury had just the opposite effect of the videotape shown to the public. On NBC's *Today* show on 11 March 1993, she said the portion of the tape showing King lunging at Powell was a major factor in the jury's decision. She said, "It must have caused the officers some concern that they were being attacked by Mr. King. That's probably the primary thing on the videotape."

That portion of the tape was not shown at all on network TV during the first trial, where it played such a key role. It was shown by CNN and NBC a few days after

four seconds on his TV show, he had the tape looped so the brief scene would play over and over again, repeating it 14 times to drive home the point that the officers had good reason to fear King. Limbaugh used the tape to show the case for the officers, as overt advocacy on a show that is openly opinionated. The networks however, except for two programs on ABC, used the King video to make the case for the prosecution, showing it 30 times, consuming some 13 minutes of air time. They virtually ignored the key four-second segment. This was not because they were unaware of its existence and its importance to the defense case — it was covert advocacy on supposedly objective news programs.

This article originally appeared in AIM Report, published by Accuracy In Media Inc., 1275 K. Street N.W., Suite 1150, Washington, DC 20005; (202) 371-6710. ✕

COMBAT



Dedicated fighters from Stepanakeri embrace unique — almost fascist — political outlook, not shared by others. Even small wars make strange bedfellows.

Fedayeen scouting party inside mountainous Azeri territory. Precarious logistics of volunteer units limits their activity to scouting, patrolling, waiting, and fighting only when attacked.

IN THE CAUCASUS

Encircled Enclave Fights For Its Life

Text & Photos by JoMarie Fecci

The trip through Azeri-controlled airspace was short, but dangerous. Hiding in cloud cover to confound enemy anti-aircraft gunners, our pilot did his best — zigging and zagging, bobbing and weaving, to protect his load of gasoline and explosives. Just getting to Nagorno-Karabakh, the Armenian-populated enclave inside Azerbaijan, was proving an arduous task.

Not that there was a choice, there is no overland route and the Muslim blockade of Armenia has created such a dearth of fuel that commercial flights from the Armenian capital of Yerevan to Karabakh have ceased. The only way into the enclave is on one of these rare military flights that are regularly preempted by Azeri artillery rounds tearing up the Armenian's only airfield at Khojalu. It had taken more than a week of broken promises before I was loaded onto the converted Aeroflot transport plane, already overloaded with the most precious commodities the besieged Karabakhis could hope for — the aforementioned gasoline and explosives.

Once in Khojalu I made my way to Arbulagh and joined one of the volunteer units responsible for defending this explosive border region and soon found myself based at a mountaintop position overlooking the Agdam-Arbulagh road. Because of difficult terrain and no other roads able to support tanks, any large-scale Azeri ground offensive would have to use the road from Agdam. Arbulagh was the first Armenian village on that road, and the incessant night shelling was a reminder of their vulnerability to attack.

Abused And Betrayed

The history of Armenia has been that of defending her identity and independence, with varying degrees of success, from neighboring imperialist empires — Babylonians, Assyrians, Iranians and Romans to empires waxing and waning under the Turks, Russians and later Soviets. Although she has enjoyed periods of independent rule, Armenia's history since the Middle Ages has been that of a people abused, victimized, betrayed and even massacred by foe and "friend" alike — but also that of a people retaining their language, culture and identity through it all. The passion for independence and the hope for liberty in Armenia will probably never die.

Since the first signs of a Soviet breakup in 1988, the Armenian *Fedayeen* have been fighting, with some success, to free their Christian Armenian-populated enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh from Muslim Azeri control. Over a four-year period, the Armenians had forced Azeri troops from the territory, one village at a time, until the Azeris were left holding only one town, Shusha, inside Karabakh.

Harout, a bearded veteran of the conflict since its beginning in

1988, commanded about 30 *Fedayeen* ranging in age from 16 to 50-something. Some of the fighters were students, others had left families and jobs back in the capital, but all were volunteers. Their reasons for joining the fighting were as different as the individual people. Ara, a history major, had come to Karabakh for mostly political reasons. Silva, the only woman among the *Fedayeen*, had gone from a Karabakh village not far from Arbulagh to study medicine in Yerevan. She had joined the unit in Yerevan as a medic and a fighter. Her dream was to one day return to her village in a free Karabakh and open a medical clinic.

From our mountaintop position, the men waited impatiently for signs of activity from "Mahmood," as they call their Azeri counterparts across the way. But the Azeris were quiet. They had been more or less quiet since I arrived. Harout explained that my presence as a foreign journalist in this remote village had been noted by Azeri scouts. They were probably waiting for me to leave before resuming any serious activity. After all, there was the charade of a cease-fire to be maintained. But I could wait.

Miko, a 24-year-old dental student, couldn't. He had lost two friends in his last battle, the liberation of Khojalu, and was anxious for an opportunity to avenge their deaths. He was speculating with his comrades about the significance of a new Azeri unit in Agdam. Though the silence of the mountain opposite seemed to contradict it, there was a general consensus that the Azeris were preparing to mount an offensive. As if to challenge the silence and prove the veracity of their common opinion, a 16-year-old nicknamed "The Little One" walked to the edge of the precipice and shouted across the valley: "Mahmood, Mahmood..." After a few minutes his shouts were an-

Detail of Nagorno-Karabakh





Armed with AK-74, "The Little One," at 16, was youngest fighter in village of Arbulagh. Many professions, all ages, are represented among volunteer Fedayeen.

swered with a lazy burst from an Azeri Kalashnikov. The Azeri fighters seemed just as bored as we were.

One afternoon I joined a security detail accompanying a small contingent of villagers going to a vacant collective farm. The farm, on the edge of the village, had been an early victim of the war. Shelling and frequent raids made it impossible to raise crops, and the last of the livestock had long ago been plundered by the Azeris. Still, the peasants survived by picking the wild mushrooms and herbs which had become a staple since the blockade cut off all outside supplies.

Hunting Mushrooms And People

A peasant woman wearing an army field jacket over her multi-colored dress was searching for mushrooms in the tall grass when Azeri snipers fired several shots. Grabbing her plastic bucket, she ran toward the abandoned stable, precious mushrooms spilling back into the grass. Silva and another fighter loosed several rounds in the direction of the shooting. The Azeri guns fell silent and the villagers cautiously reemerged from the stable to continue their desperate foraging.

The quiet lasted while they filled their baskets and began the dangerous walk back to the village. As we paused to lay wild flowers where a Fedayeen commander had been killed, the Azeris again opened fire — they had returned with more soldiers. From experience, the villagers dropped to the ground and crowded together behind a small rock formation — the only natural cover. We only had to make it 50 yards to reach a turn in the road and safety from Azeri fire, but the path was open and flat. The only option was to lay down covering fire and run for it; so with bullets cracking over our heads, the group sprinted for the turn in the road.

Harout took the incident seriously. As usual, the Fedayeen, who often forgot my reason for being there, wanted to protect me. It took a long argument and several toasts of vile homemade brandy to convince the commander that after a stint in the Israeli-occupied territories and four tours as a photo stringer covering the Yugoslavian civil war, I was no fragile china doll. He agreed tomorrow we would go past the farm to the hastily dug trenches of another Fedayeen unit that arrived from Stepanakert a few days before.

Unlike our unit, which had no particular party affiliation, this unit was the military wing of a tiny Stepanakert-based nationalist party with a strange, almost fascist, ideology. Contact between our two units was tentative and cautious. Though we would fight side by side against a common foe, there was a gulf between us.

Perhaps because this was the Caucasus and the Fedayeen were an all-volunteer force with a "guerrilla" tradition in the midst of ex-Soviet chaos, but whatever the reason, their force structure was extremely casual. Each unit was nearly autonomous, with only vague subservience to the general command. Units were sent with whatever men and equipment they possessed to control specific areas, and apart from the general order to defend a village or observe a cease-fire, they were left to their own devices.

After yet another toast to Fedayeen victory, we speculated

about the significance of our side sending a new unit so quickly after the appearance of a new Azeri unit in Agdam. Harout agreed the Stepanakert unit's presence signaled something — the question was what. I speculated the politicians had finally given consent for an offensive against Agdam, just what we were waiting for. The fighters were tired of hanging around the village, stealing the occasional pig for a *shashlick* party up at the post: They had come to fight, not picnic. As days passed uneventfully, they were getting nervous. The constant anticipation of action and the continual disappointment mixed with a hidden sense of relief, plus the unceasing vigilance, was wearing at their nerves. I could see the strain in their faces. I could feel it in my own.

I asked Harout if we might attack soon. He laughed and said we'd attack when we received decent weapons. The problem of weapons was serious. Though the first line of defense, the troops



Volunteers from Stepanakert return Azeri harassing fire from hastily prepared trenchworks outside Arbulagh.



Fedayeen position in Arbulagh guards only "improved" road from Azerbaijan to Nagorno-Karabakh's capital Stepanakert.

defending Arbulagh gave new meaning to the term poorly equipped. Except for Kalashnikovs, we had one captured Azeri Armored Personnel Carrier (APC) in a continual state of breakdown, one heavy machine gun and one aging artillery piece. The Azeris had T-72 tanks, rockets, artillery and all the resources of the former USSR that were left in their republic. Our side was limited to small arms and what we could capture from the enemy. Three factors contributed to this materiel imbalance: First, early on in the conflict, the USSR more or less took the Azeri side; second, because Nagorno-Karabakh is separated from Armenia by a strip of Azerbaijan, there is no way to transport heavy equipment into the enclave; and third, the Armenians had to reserve troops and equipment to defend the Armenian border itself from potential Azeri attacks.

The next morning we made our way past the farm to the new trenches on the village perimeter. All was quiet and a few of the boys from Stepanakert were attempting to explain their party's convoluted ideology, when the 16-year-old sitting next to me grabbed his Kalashnikov and turned quickly in one graceful motion to begin firing. An Azeri scouting party was spotted not far

from our lines. But it was just so much noise — a rare daytime exchange of fire that proved almost futile as neither side was in range to hit the other, except by luck.

Returning to the village that night, we saw the lights of Agdam glittering on the horizon. Colored flares and frequent bursts of machine gun fire from both sides kept us alert — and, often, on the ground. The hyper-reality of heavy darkness was punctuated with little fears grown large, and the walking seemed to go on forever. Then we were back inside our illusion of safety — a large tent full of holes, completely open to enemy attack. That night, the shelling was the heaviest since I had arrived.

Combat Picnic

At dawn every available man was sent up the mountain, accompanied by the APC spitting dirty gray smoke as it growled up the twisted, rocky path. The whole village was on alert. Civilians with rusty old guns and picnic lunches sat on the hillside next to the “command center” in a shed surrounded by pigs. If the Azeris were going to attack, we knew they wouldn’t come across a mined valley and up a steep mountainside — they’d come via the farm road. I asked Harout if I could go to the trench. After a bit of wrangling and some waiting, he agreed.

One of the village men commanding the artillery told us that Fedayeen forces had begun an offensive against Azeri-held Shusha. Suddenly the cryptic maneuvering of the morning became clear. We were guarding against the likeliest Azeri counterattack — here, 5 kilometers from Agdam.

A swirl of mixed emotions greeted the news. Everyone had wanted to be part of the long-awaited offensive in Shusha, where Azeri artillery ceaselessly pounded Stepanakert, forcing the population into underground shelters for the last 14 months. But any disappointment was quickly overcome by the sense of elation accompanying the news that the attack was finally under way. After all, Stepanakert was the hometown of these boys and neutralizing the Azeri guns and rockets meant freedom for their families.

Someone in the trench was listening to the battle’s progress on an old Soviet radio. We joined the growing circle around him just as the radio announcer said Armenian forces had succeeded in gaining control of a quarter of the city. Our front was quiet, except for random sniper fire from the Azeri position across the way. Under strict orders to hold our fire without permission from the command center, we couldn’t respond to the Azeri taunts, and the frustration of sitting idle tempered our excitement.

Winning, Losing, Winning Again

I decided to see if Voice of America radio had any English-language news about Shusha, but I first tuned in the domineering signal of Radio Moscow English Service, where I heard a direct contradiction of the Armenians’ news, then I found VOA. Here, too, an authoritative voice said Azeri forces had repelled the Armenian attack. I turned my shortwave off quietly, unable to say anything to my comrades ... and decided privately to attempt to go to Shusha myself.

Before I could figure out how I would do this, my thoughts were interrupted by word that Harout had ordered me back to the command center. I hesitated, angry to leave the likeliest place for action, even though the soldiers kept assuring me that nothing would happen there now. I was not as convinced, but I returned with them over the mountainous gauntlet to the hillside where villagers still stood guard over their picnics. They were chattering excitedly about our forces driving the Azeris completely out of Karabakh. I went up to Harout and told him pointblank that I wanted to leave for Shusha.

He paused for a moment, came away from the map he had been studying and said it was impossible. Without a car, without gas, without someone who knew the way to accompany me, and without authorization to be on the road — it was impossible. He finished by assuring me that we controlled three-fourths of the city and the battle would be over before nightfall — before I could possibly hope to get there.

Frustrated, I joined the villagers’ picnic and listened to the shortwave again. The report from VOA and Radio Moscow remained unchanged ...

Down by the road, Silva was dancing to traditional Armenian music in a personal victory celebration, the haunting oriental mountain flutes wafting from an old car whose function had been relegated to a radio by the fuel shortage.

It would be another day before the VOA changed its reports and confirmed that the Fedayeen had, in fact, won Shusha. The expected Azeri counteroffensive did not materialize.

The mountains were quiet now, leaving only the peaceful sounds of an ordinary mountain village. There was something bizarre in this quick return to normal, after weeks of regular shelling and small-arms fire. Apart from the rubble everywhere, the only reminder of war was the silence as we ate in the home of

a village woman whose son had died a hero in Shusha.

Counterattack!

It was this night that the agitated shouting of an old woman woke me in the darkness: The Azeri counterattack was beginning. Screaming peasants quickly gathered some of their possessions and a steady stream of villagers — the very old and very young — followed the dirt road to the next village in an effort to escape.



The young, the old, the pregnant, the feeble: For centuries the first wave following the outbreak of wars has been a flood of desperate refugees. Here villagers from Arbulagh flee Azeri attack.

In calm tones that belied any fear, Harout explained a column of tanks with infantry support was coming from Agdam. The remaining ammo was passed out as our fighters prepared to join the Stepanakert unit reinforcing the trench — the Fedayeen’s only hope to block Azeri progress. It was a desperate measure. Our scouts said at least seven T-72s were grinding toward us. The soldiers, faces stark and frightened, clutched their rifles, aware how useless the Kalashnikovs would be against the approaching tanks. A well-armed medic, still trying to believe the oft-repeated myth himself, began to tell me that the Fedayeen could beat the tanks with only their AKs. He said that an Armenian had to hit just one tank and the rest would turn and run back to Azerbaijan.

There was a kernel of truth in this statement — two years of war had proved the poorly armed but highly committed Fedayeen could consistently beat far better-equipped Azeri conscripts, who were not anxious to become casualties of a remote mountain war. But this time the punch-up would be too lopsided. Armed with only the strength of their convictions and two magazines per fighter, the 60 Fedayeen were now facing numerous T-72s, plus infantry. Harout ordered all the precious gas, save the absolute minimum necessary for escape, drained and used to prepare Molotov cocktails.

As the sky gradually lightened, a pall of hopelessness fell over the village, now long deserted by the peasants who had added that

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WAKE-UP CALL



Peter Guest's jungle police squad, armed with various marks of Enfield rifles and Stens, pose with two dead insurgents after 1951 ambush that killed seven men and three of four elephants.

As the squad of 10 uniformed scouts double-timed diagonally up the slope, the point man suddenly spun to his left and fired two quick bursts toward the crest from his 9mm Sten gun. The squad hit the dirt as a flurry of incoming rounds cracked overhead. Squad leader Peter Guest sprang forward to his scouts and assessed the ground and the enemy, formulating a plan. His men were caught in the open, with the enemy concealed in a belt of overgrown rubber trees — on Guest's snap decision hung life or death for his men.

Losing no time, he split his lead scouts and ordered them to deploy along the ridgeline to either side, effectively placing himself in a commanding central position. He and the scouts laid down sustained suppressive fire to pin down the enemy, while the rest of the squad alternately moved forward in elements, under each other's covering fire. Sensing the devel-

oping danger, the unseen enemy increased their rate of fire in an attempt to retain control of the high ground.

Guest realized that to remain in the open, only 40 yards from the enemy, would spell disaster. Changing the magazine in his M1A1 .30 carbine, he urged his men forward toward better cover. As they ran, firing bursts, sticky white jets of latex spurted from the tree trunks as incoming rounds thwacked into the rubber plantation all around the fighters.

Guest was running and firing low into the shrubbery, on the assumption that the enemy lay just inside its shroud, when he caught movement in the corner of his right eye. With a kind of slow motion shock, he realized that he was looking straight at a uniformed communist, complete with brown puttees and a peaked cap, who was firing his Sten on the far side of a tree trunk. As Guest emerged on his blind side,

the communist turned his head and, for an eternal second they looked at each other, eyeball to eyeball, before both began to move. The communist started to roll, lifting his Sten, but, as he did, Guest had already turned toward him and was coming in, firing his carbine from the hip. Before his opponent could get his weapon around for a clean shot, Guest ran right over the top of him, firing one shot into his head from 6 inches away.

Hot Pursuit

Guest knew the last shot would be fatal, and he had no time to look back, as two more communists suddenly emerged from the ground in front of him. They had not been in the cover as he thought, but must have been heading out of it when the jungle squad surprised them coming the other way. Guest fired three aimed shots straight into the backpack of the nearest from only 25 yards, but to his exasperation the man kept running and vanished, with his comrade, into the shrubbery.

By now the assault had carried the squad to the crest of the hill and, taking stock, Guest ordered his right flank, which was trailing down the opposite side of the ridge, to close up before advancing into the brush. From the edge of the overgrown foliage he was now able to toss a grenade. In the sudden silence after the explosion, the jungle squad warily moved in.

Aid The Fallen Foe

As they edged forward, the first thing they saw was a dead communist, face down, just inside the cover. Then a voice called out. The squad leader signalled for caution. A wounded man was calling for help, but he wasn't one of the squad and Guest was leery of being lured forward by a wounded guerrilla ready to sacrifice himself with a concealed grenade. The squad advanced suspiciously on the wounded man, who was nervously yelling out that he was unarmed as his comrades had taken his weapon. This turned out to be true: He had been badly wounded in the knee and

FOR 'NAM

by Ken Guest
Photos courtesy author

Brits Punch-Up Malaya's Communist Guerrillas



Peter Guest, armed with U.S. M1A1 .30 carbine, in Gerik, 1950. Note dense growth in background; secondary shrubbery quickly overtook untended rubber estates.

left behind as a liability.

Knowing there had to be more, Guest was just debating how many men to leave with the wounded insurgent when there was another burst of fire from the road 450 yards to the west. The enemy had ricocheted off Guest's squad, dashed toward the road and collided with another jungle squad that had been approaching parallel on the other side. The communists opened up first and, veering away

from the road, managed to pass unseen to the south and escape back to the cover of the jungle.

Upon searching the two dead, Guest discovered that he had, after all, hit the man who had inexplicably kept running. Inside his pack was a tightly rolled oil-cloth cape in which two .30 carbine rounds were lodged. A third round had hit him in the head just as he vanished into cover. Guest's squad, on the other hand, had managed to escape the entire skirmish without a scratch.

While small unit, close-quarter battles like this one would become an everyday reality for American troops at the sharp end of the Vietnam War, this Southeast Asian jungle punch-up occurred in 1951, 11 years before large-scale American deployment to Vietnam. The players in this fracas had been members of the communist 12th Regiment and a paramilitary police jungle squad operating in Perak, northern Malaya.

In February 1948 the Kremlin had instructed the Malayan Communist Party to overthrow the British federal government in Malaya and establish a communist state. The communists, already engaged in agitating civil unrest, switched to a campaign of armed confrontation. As Malaya became engulfed in guerrilla war, the federal government invoked "emergency powers." The resulting 12-year war was, with typical British understatement, known as "The Malayan Emergency."

Although the Malayan Emergency has been overshadowed by larger, regional conflicts as in Korea and Vietnam, it deserves wider study. Much that was learned in Ma-

laya was later adapted for use in Vietnam. It is worthy to note that, *in Malaya, the communists were totally defeated*. Moreover, despite common misconceptions, it was not the British army which carried the major burden during this war. While they played a significant part, it was the Royal Federation of Malaya Police Force (then predominantly led by European officers) which bore the brunt of the fighting.

Police Win War

From the beginning of the conflict, the police were responsible not only for the security of the civilian population, but also for that of the principal national industries (tin mines and rubber estates), as well as for security on the transport networks. In addition to these predominantly static defensive duties, the police formed their own paramilitary jungle squads and mounted aggressive military operations.

The experiences of 21-year-old former Royal Marine Peter Guest were typical of the 400 European sergeants dispatched to Malaya. On arrival he was sent north to Perak, where he was appointed to command the 35th Group. This turned out to be an ad hoc force of 120 special constables, recruited from the rubber-tapper population and scattered around seven rub-

Members of No. 4 Police Jungle Company ambushed by communist guerrillas in Pahang state. Note pole on bumper of vehicle, used to prevent decapitation of passengers by wire strung across road.





Lead elephant of the 1951 ambush at Temengor, who flushed out some of its ambushers before dying at the edge of the killing ground. Its companion, Mat Yar, survived the ambush and made its way home to a hero's welcome.

ber estates. They had no training and were armed only — if at all — with single-shot shotguns. Supplementing 35th Group's lamentable lack of firepower with one 9mm Sten, Guest, like other newly arrived European sergeants, quickly realized he was on his own.

After a few months, better weapons such as the .303 Enfield No. 4 rifles and No. 5 Mk I "jungle carbines," Bren light machine guns and more Stens did begin to filter through. Once his men were familiar with these, Guest began more aggressive defensive training, with limited patrols beyond the wire. New weapons and a more assertive role, combined with an issue of uniforms, enormously improved morale; but without radios the isolated police units were reliant on telephone links to call for help: It was often the cutting of a phone line that forewarned an attack.

Taking It To The Enemy

In the early days of the Emergency, the communists frequently operated in company-sized units and were able to overrun several police posts. When a line was cut, improvised police "flying squads" would be mobilized to race to the rescue in trucks and cars, but these were vulnerable to ambush themselves and the police quickly realized that ad hoc flying squads steaming to the rescue were insufficient to counter the guerrillas.

In 1948 two special police units were formed to pursue a more aggressive strategy — Ferret Force and Shaw Force. These were largely comprised of men with former military experience, or localized knowledge and jungle skills, such as game wardens. By 1949, these early attempts to meet the communists on their own ground had evolved into the paramilitary police jungle squads which were to become the cutting edge of the war against communism in Malaya.

Lieutenant General Briggs, a veteran of the Chindit war against Japan in Burma, was given a civilian appointment to coordinate the security forces. The strategy Briggs mapped out (known as "The Briggs Plan") became the cornerstone of the successful British counterinsurgency operations, which were to ultimately defeat communism in Malaya. The effectiveness of the plan hinged on isolating the communists from their sources of supply. Recommendations made in 1949 for the resettlement of villagers and squatters exposed to communist intimidation were incorporated into the plan, and these resettlements were known as "New Villages" (the equivalent of the later "Strategic Hamlets" in Vietnam).

Indigenous Incentives

The New Villages included many amenities not previously enjoyed in the more remote settlements, such as schools and medical centers. As a result, not only were the villagers protected from communist intimidation, they now had something to lose if the communists won the war.

A vigorous food denial program was also implemented, which entailed the rationing of food and strict control over its movement. Police Special Branch placed great emphasis on the destruction of the *Min Yuen* (Masses Organization), which was the clandestine communist infrastructure responsible for maintaining supply lines to active guerrilla units.

According to Mao Zedong, for a guerrilla army to succeed, it "must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army." The Malayan communists, composed principally of ethnic Chinese, in a country dominated by indigenous Malays, never succeeded in gaining popular majority support. They compounded this failure with a second major blunder — they failed to secure an outside arms supply and, even had they done so, they lacked a Ho Chi Minh trail along

which to covertly ferry the goods in.

Luck, or rather the lack of it, also dealt a severe blow to the communists when Lau Yew, the chairman of the Malayan Communist Party's Military Committee and their ablest strategist, was killed in a clash with police early in 1948. Although after Lau Yew's death the communists lost cohesive military direction, they tenaciously kept up the pressure of military offensives. These offensives peaked between 1951 and 1953, before beginning a long decline from which they never recovered.

By March 1951, the success of the police jungle squads had led to the creation of police jungle companies engaged full-time in military operations. Because of this increasing military pressure, the communists were forced to fragment into ever smaller units in order to avoid actions not



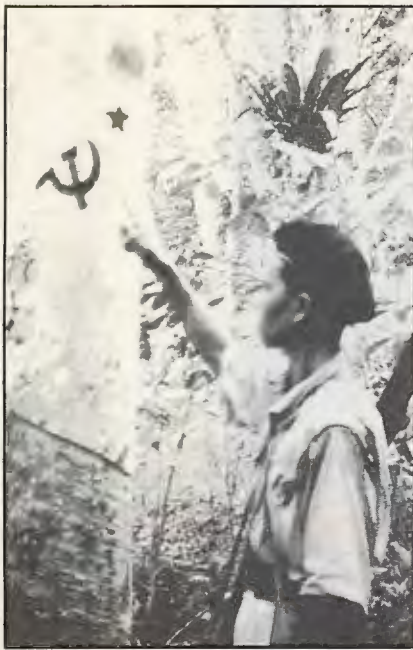
Armored personnel carrier built by General Motors of Canada, and modified to protect driver, patrols jungle track. Earlier, federation police commissioner refused issue of APCs, saying, "Your job is to get out and fight, not hide behind armor."

of their choosing. At the height of the emergency, however, it was hard to see light at the end of the tunnel, and the security forces did not have it all their own way. In 1951, Peter Guest, now assistant superintendent, was tasked with resupplying an isolated frontier branch base.

Into The Killing Ground

This time his 36-man patrol was accompanied by four elephants hauling supplies and a replacement generator. Guest's choice of route was limited to one path — the only one the elephants could use. The journey passed uneventfully until the third morning of the return leg.

Guest was with the lead 10-man scouting section and had just crossed a saddle and forded a stream when fire erupted from behind — not just a few shots, but one great roar of gunfire mixed with the inhuman screaming of elephants going crazy with pain as they were continuously hit by small-arms fire. There was no mistaking that this was one hell of an ambush. Guest went stone cold. He and the scouts must have just walked through the



Indigenous special constable points to hammer and sickle carved on trunk of rubber tree on Slim River estate, 1949.

killing ground. The enemy, hidden in the brush, had waited for the main body of the patrol before triggering the trap.

Shouting for the 10-man scouting section to follow, Guest sprinted back down the path. As he came around a contour, with the gunfire still roaring away ahead, he saw a cluster of his own men running for dear life through the saddle and firing into the jungle on either side as they ran. Right on their heels, trumpeting in agony, was one enormous elephant in hot pursuit. As Guest paused, somewhat startled, two more men burst out of the bushes to run neck and neck with the others and, in stunned disbelief, he realized they were communists flushed out by the stampeding elephant! In the blink of an eye they swerved and vanished into the jungle.

It was suicide to continue up the path toward the killing ground, so Guest veered to the right to outflank the ambush party,

British 25-pounders fire harassing missions in attempt to drive guerrillas into motion, allowing foot patrols to track them down.



yelling to the survivors who were splashing across the stream to join him. As they clawed their way up the reverse of the slopes which dropped into the ambush site on the other side, the shooting slackened off. Guest had no way of knowing if the rest of the patrol had been wiped out, but knew he had to counterattack if *anyone* were to be saved.

Shots from the far end of the ambush site about 100 yards off raised hopes that the rear party had survived. Hearing shouts, Guest's men tried to establish contact with the rear party by shouting back but, because of the noise of the shooting, this was impossible. Soon they met a flurry of incoming rounds splashing into the dark, rich loam of the jungle floor and cracking past, shredding bark and leaves from the trees. It was hard to know at first if this was communist or friendly fire, until they identified the source as the high ground on the other side of the saddle: It was the enemy. Quite a brisk exchange of fire de-



veloped as the embattled remnants of the jungle squad struggled to dominate the firefight and win the ground.

Guest had already dispatched a couple of men to work their way around to the right, to see if they could link up with the rear of the patrol — if it still existed. Luck was with them, and just before the main ambush site they spotted survivors and managed to signal to them to close up with the rest of the squad. With all the shooting and the density of the foliage, it was impossible for Guest to get

a head count, so he concentrated his attention on establishing a defensive perimeter on the rim of the hill.

Prudent Poker

However, automatic fire from their Brens and Stens was quickly chewing up their ammunition reserves. With no hope of resupply or rescue (at this time jungle squads still operated without radios), Guest urged his men to conserve ammunition and shoot only at targets they could see. At last, to his great relief, the enemy fire waned slightly and Guest ordered his men to put several more volleys into the other side to persuade them that the squad had recovered from the shock of the ambush, and was a force capable of sustaining a longer contact. This ploy must have worked, as enemy fire waned further and the encounter became a game of poker. Guest waited. Had the enemy pulled back, or were they lying still, waiting for him to make the first move? Alternatively, were they, even now, silently working around to outflank the squad and attack again from the side?

When, after what seemed an age, he motioned his men to probe cautiously forward, the half-expected bursts of gunfire never came. Instead, the squad found itself looking into a line of well-prepared and expertly camouflaged slit trenches: Beyond the first line was a second, and a third. A quick calculation indicated a well-laid ambush by at least 90 insurgents.

Of the police jungle patrol, seven were killed and four wounded. Guest was shocked to discover that he had only seven rounds left and that the rest of the patrol was in similar straits. Had the communists pressed home their advantage, the entire squad would probably have been wiped out. Of the four elephants, the sole survivor loyally made its own way back to base, to become famous throughout Malaya as "Mat Yar, survivor of the Temengor ambush."

The Malayan Emergency officially ended in 1960, to be followed in 1962 by a decade of war in Vietnam, but it was not until 1989 that the last remnants of the Malayan communist insurgent forces surrendered themselves in neighboring Thailand. When they did, included in their ranks were two elderly Japanese soldiers who had been absorbed by the communists following World War II.

No stranger to the killing fields, Photojournalist Ken Guest has worked as combat reporter for a number of international publications. This account of his father's exploits in Malaya is his first for SOF. ✕



Photo: courtesy author

MAN OR MONSTER

Confessions of A Serb War Criminal

by Michael Palaich

Borislav Herak (pictured above), a Serbian soldier with a haunting stare, was found guilty in March of this year of war crimes against the civilian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The military court in Sarajevo that judged the former textile worker sentenced him to death by firing squad. Herak's name was one of several on a list of possible war criminals submitted to the United Nations by former Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger in December 1992.

Herak admitted to our interviewer that he killed 32 civilians and raped 12 young women and girls. Some girls, Herak said, were as young as 12 years old. He sat impassively throughout his three week trial and said after his defense attorney's summation, "I am sorry for everything I did and I suggest the death penalty for me."

Michael Palaich, a freelance journalist, interviewed Herak in a room outside his cell at the Victor Buban military barracks in Sarajevo. One of the trial judges, Davorin Jukic, was present during the interview. The interview was approved by Herak's defense attorney. An independent translator participated in the 50-minute conversation.

I waited in an office at the Victor Buban military barracks in Sarajevo trying to anticipate what the monster who murdered and raped so many innocents would look like. The judge assigned to Borislav Herak's trial and his defense attorney had given permission to interview the 22-year-old Serbian soldier who, after being captured by Bosnian defense forces, admitted to the atrocities described in the introduction.

The day before I was to interview Herak I was caught in three separate sniper attacks. I, like the other pedestrians walking the streets of Sarajevo, had to scurry for cover to avoid bullets fired by a sniper in the mountains overlooking the city. I wondered then what the face of the person firing at civilians looked like. Surely,

I thought, he must look like a monster. I suppose we are conditioned to think that people who do evil must also look evil.

As I crouched behind a wall I tried to remember what Simon Wiesenthal (the famous Nazi hunter) said about it being dangerous to think of war criminals as monsters, when they are in fact simply men. Wiesenthal believes that viewing the war criminal as a monster limits the responsibility of the individual for his crimes: It also removes the responsibility of society to ensure that such crimes are not repeated.

Finally the door slowly opened, revealing Herak and his prison escort. Dressed in civilian clothes, Herak was slightly over 6 feet tall, with short black hair, sunken eyes and an ashen complexion.

The guard directed him to a seat before our table. He began his story, which started with his birth in Sarajevo, and ended with him as a prisoner of the Bosnian defense forces.

Herak, a Serb, was born in Sarajevo at a time when ethnicity was unimportant. Prior to Serbian aggression in Bosnia in May 1992, Muslims, Croats and Serbs lived together peacefully in Sarajevo, with tolerance and without overt ill will. He was coaxed into leaving the city for the surrounding mountains by his cousin. According to Herak, his cousin would visit him in Sarajevo in an attempt to recruit him for the Serbian forces who operated in the mountains surrounding Sarajevo.

Join Our Atrocities Or Be Shot

"He would tell me that there will be a war soon and if I stay in Sarajevo that I will be killed. He said that if I don't get killed by the Muslims then I will get killed by the Serbs. They will treat me as a traitor." "But why would you be treated as a traitor?" I asked. "Because Karadzic [the leader of the Bosnian Serbs] himself said that whoever doesn't join the Serb army is a traitor," Herak replied.

His first stop on the road to becoming a war criminal was a suburb of Sarajevo named Ilijas. It was there that arrangements were made for him to join the Serbian forces. In return for his enlistment he was given a home and a salary. The home had belonged to a Muslim family before they were murdered — "cleansed" — by Serbian forces.

Chain-smoking cigarettes while he spoke, Herak outlined his training as a Serbian soldier. "We were taught how to kill pigs with knives so that we would know how to kill people if we did not have guns." It was training Herak was soon to use. Lighting one cigarette with another, Herak told of the first village he "cleansed" in conjunction with two other groups of Serbian forces called the White Eagles and the Chetniks, in addition to some platoons from the Yugoslav national army barracks in Rajlovac who lent their assistance to the slaughter. "We used the term cleansing. The purpose was to go and cleanse the place, to clean the place so that nobody lived there, and so that it

becomes a part of the Serbian municipality."

Herak related the exact order his commander (Radko Adzic) gave to him and the other Serbian soldiers that day in the village of Vogosca.

Kill Everyone

"Kill everyone and burn all the houses, so that if someone survives they have nowhere to go back to." I then asked, "Did killing everyone include women, children and babies?" "Yes," he answered. "We pulled people from their homes and killed them. We shot them in the head. One soldier was killing with a knife. Some were swearing at the people, at their mothers, as they killed them. Others were singing Chetnik [Serbian nationalist] songs. I witnessed the murder of 150 people that day. I killed 12 civilians: men, women and old ladies. Later they took the bodies to Reljevo [a town in Bosnia] and dumped them in a mass grave 10 meters by 5 meters [32 feet by 16 feet]."

He leaned toward me and knocked the ashes from his cigarette. "I also killed two Serbs [that day]," he mumbled. "Why did you kill the Serbs?" I asked. "When we got to their houses I was already drunk. They were showing me their identification cards, saying they were Serbs, and I saw a gun so I fired at them, at their heads and killed them both. Only later on did I find out that they really were Serbs."

"When did you become involved in raping civilian women?" I grilled impatiently. He exhaled the smoke from his cigarette and took another drag. "I first became involved in raping girls in Vogosca. It was in a camp/restaurant called Sonja's [a woman's name]. There were 60 women held in the camp. One hundred and fifty Serbian soldiers from my unit, the Romanija Corps, were ordered to go to the camp and rape the girls. My commander said it was good for our morale. Almost all of us took part. The girls were mostly between 20 and 25 years old. Some soldiers from Vogosca as well as members of the military police from Vogosca also took part in it." "What were the other Serbian soldiers saying about the rapes they just committed?" I asked. "The local Serbs



Photo: AP/Wide World

Relatives mourn and pray in the very early morning fog at Lions cemetery in Sarajevo. With most trees in the cemetery cut for fuel, mourners are exposed to snipers and must come in the dark or morning fog.

from Vogosca were mostly happy because of that. They hated the Muslims and thought it was a way of getting revenge," the war criminal replied matter-of-factly.

Orders From Hell

Herak paused to mooch a cigarette from the young Bosnian-Muslim woman who was translating. She handed him five. I thought this strange, because I could not even bring myself to shake his hand when he first entered the room. We continued. "Do you feel any remorse for what you have done?" I questioned. "I felt sorry, but I could not talk to anyone, because they would think that I was a coward. I could not refuse because the order was that everyone had to do it. And if I refused to carry out the order they would kill me," he replied.

His reply brought to mind another interview I did a few years ago with Gerald Draper, a celebrated prosecutor at the war crimes tribunal in Nuremberg following World War II, who had personally arrested the commandant of Auschwitz. Draper stated that a soldier is obligated to obey lawful orders from his superiors, not unlawful orders. It is in fact the soldier's obligation to refuse unlawful orders, such as raping women and butchering civilians.

Herak's defense was beginning to stick in my craw. He was ordered to kill women, children and babies — and he did it. He was ordered to rape young women and girls being held captive in rape camps — and he did it. His defense was the same used by most war criminals in the past: "I was only following orders." I asked irritably, "You keep saying that you were ordered to do these killings and rapes and that is why you did them. Are you aware that there have been other people in the past who have used the same defense as a reason for doing terrible things?" "Only what I have seen in the movies from World War II," Herak answered. "Well then, tell me this, Mr. Herak, is there anything that your commanding officer could have ordered you to do, which you would have refused to do?" He paused for a long time, and for that instant I felt I could read his mind. He was anticipating my next question: If he would draw the line somewhere regarding obeying orders I would then ask him where he would draw the line. I wish now that his reply had been "No, I would not obey just *any* order." If he did not draw the line with the killing of women, children, and babies, I would have liked to know what could be so horrible that he would not do it. But after what seemed like several minutes, he answered. "No, there is not [anything I would not do]."

I flashed back to when I was filming and photographing Serbian atrocities during the war in Eastern Croatia in 1991. I recalled one particularly grisly scene after entering a village near Pakrac that had been "cleansed" by Serbs. An old woman, perhaps 70 or 80 years of age, lay on the ground with her throat cut. Her legs were spread apart, and there was a dead pig laying on top of her. The pig's throat was also cut. I wondered then what type of man would do something like this. Who would defile the corpse



Photo: AP/Wide World

Stone-cold Serbian brutality against civilians: Ruza Glavas, grandmother of one of two children killed by snipers as they were being evacuated from Sarajevo by bus, lies seriously wounded in Lions cemetery — where the funeral of the children came under mortar attack.

of a dead grandmother in such a way? On this day I felt I had met the person who would commit such an act.

Destroy It All

Herak lit another cigarette as I continued the questioning: "As we are doing this interview there are guns being fired and bombs exploding outside. Are the Serbian forces in the mountains bombing the city as a way of defending Sarajevo, as they say, or is it an act of aggression?" Herak replied, "It is an attack on Sarajevo. It is an attempt to destroy the city and all its citizens: Muslims, Croats, Serbs, whoever is left."

While a cloud of smoke circled Herak's head I fired another

question: "What about the people of Bosnia and Croatia who are under siege by the Serbian army?" I asked. "Would you advise them to surrender, or to continue to fight Serbian aggression?" He candidly replied, "I would advise them to fight and not to surrender. They would be tortured. Serbian irregulars do awful things to people who surrender." As he replied, I thought to myself that this was probably good advice — and he should know.

I wondered again if it was right to regard Herak as a monster. With the exception of those haunting eyes that appear to look at you from the depths of hell, he looked like a normal — if haggard — 22-year-old man. With enough imagination he could even be pictured as a slender young child, playing in Sarajevo with Muslim and Croatian friends.

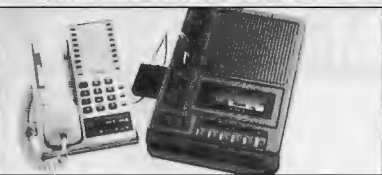
The picture fades quickly, however, when superimposed with the image of him murdering Muslim and Croatian children after pulling their parents and grandparents from their homes and shooting them in the head. What did his face look like to those children after he killed their parents and now turned to look at them, his next victims? Did the cowering children see the face of a man, or a monster? Was it the face of a man or a monster that the 12-year-old girl saw as Herak was raping her? I tried to imagine the contortions his face might have made, and the look in his eyes at the instant he put his rifle to her head, before blowing it off. What did *she* see in the face of Borislav Herak?

Is Herak a monster, or is Wiesenthal right for believing that war criminals are simply men capable of monstrous acts? I did not want to believe Herak was a man. I was ashamed to acknowledge that he was a human. But, I know it is better for civilization if we judge him as a man. Monsters, after all, cannot be held accountable for their crimes against humanity — men must be.

As we go to press, Herak's attorneys have filed an appeal before the Bosnian military court, and the United Nations has expressed an interest in, but not requested, the right to additionally try Herak.

Michael Palaich worked as a freelance journalist during the war in Croatia in 1991 and has also produced a video documentary titled "Bleiburg Tragedy" about the massacre of Croats and Muslims by Yugoslav partisans following World War II. ✕

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IN REVIEW

Continued from page 45

tion of the Iver Johnson series and the Johnson 5.7mm "Spitfire"), are described in great depth. A section on handguns chambered for this cartridge and another on aftermarket accessories conclude this two-volume encyclopedia of a weapon both ridiculed and admired during its long service history.

The amount of information contained between the covers of these two volumes is almost overwhelming, which is just what we should anticipate and hope for in any complete study of a small-arms system. In general, the photography is excellent. Required acquisitions for carbine buffs.

U.S. Marine Corps SCOUT-SNIPER World War II and Korea by Peter R. Senich, Paladin Press, 1993; 230 pages, illustrated; \$39.95 + p&h; Dept. SOF, P.O. Box 1307, Boulder, CO 80306; phone: 800-392-2400.

Senich is an acknowledged authority on the history of military sniping. His previous works on this topic, *The German Sniper: 1914-1945* and *The Complete Book of U.S. Sniping*, were well-received and highly regarded. This latest effort concentrates on USMC Scout Sniper equipment, training and tactics during the formative period from World War II through the Korean War. There is much of interest here.

The M1903A1 Springfield bolt-action caliber .30-06 rifle and the Unertl 8X scope were the principal, if limited, issue for USMC snipers throughout World War II. Although the M1903-series rifles had by then outlived their usefulness as a basic infantry arm, they would continue to serve as a Marine Corps sniping weapon in Korea.

However, Senich points out that contrary to popular belief, the Pacific campaign did not witness wholesale deployment of Marine snipers and, in fact, they were rarely encountered. When deployed, they were usually in the form of three-man teams, one Marine with a Unertl-scoped M1903A1, one with an M1 Garand and one with a Thompson submachine gun.

An interesting chapter on Japanese snipers draws a parallel conclusion, as "with few exceptions, most of the Japanese riflemen referred to as snipers were simply by-passed infantry."

Although now venerated as a holy relic, the Unertl scope was not without its detractors during World War II. In February 1944, the Marine Corps commandant ordered acquisition of Unertl scopes terminated, as "the Unertl 8X Sniper Telescope has not proved effective in combat." A powerful segment within the Corps preferred the U.S. Army's Remington

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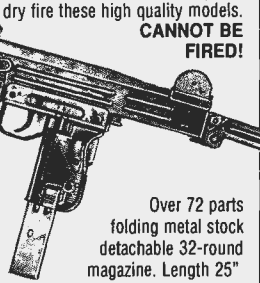
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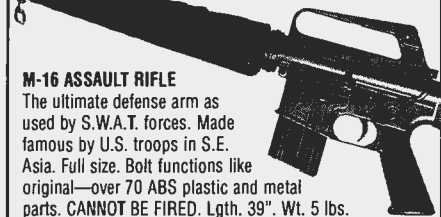
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2.5X scope. The optics were considerably more compact — a feature of considerable merit when moving through dense jungle vegetation.

The M1C Garand sniper rifle and Ma Deuce (fired single-shot) were employed with great effect on the MLR (Main Line of Resistance) in Korea. When equipped with a scope, the .50-caliber machine gun was effective at ranges up to and beyond 1,200 yards.

A chapter on special equipment discusses the M3 infrared sniperscope, optics for the .50-caliber M2 HB Browning heavy machine gun and also the .55-caliber Boyes antitank rifle used by Marine Raider units against Japanese vehicles and bunkers.

There are a few oddly redundant equipment photos in the first chapter, but overall, Marine Corps addicts and military-sniper history buffs will not be disappointed. ✕

COMBAT IN CAUCASUS

Continued from page 57

one surreal element of normalcy to the absurd. Their presence in the village had been the constant reminder of the real reason for the fight. Their flight left us to defend a sorry shell of ruins and rock.

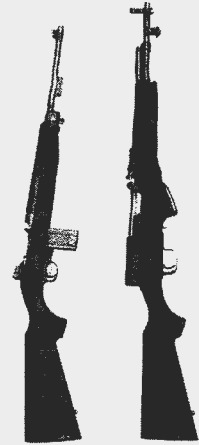
At the entrance to our tent the carcass of a cow, hastily slaughtered for a final shashlick party, now lay forgotten. This remnant from the celebratory feast was suddenly transformed into a haunting specter. Now just dead livestock, it became a macabre reminder of our mortality — one minute a victory feast, the next a desperate preparation to stand and die. As the earthshaking rumble of tanks and shelling moved toward us, the hardened professionalism, or perhaps the crazy conviction, of the Fedayeen became obvious. The Molotov cocktails were prepared. The last men of the unit moved unquestioningly toward the trench.

Knowing his men couldn't hold the line, Harout decided I should leave along with some surplus equipment that shouldn't fall into Azeri hands. I agreed that to stay any longer would be to become a liability to the men whose story I wanted to tell, so I set out to catch up to the refugees.

Rubble And Ash

At the next village I met the last of the stragglers, lost and dazed. Still in shock and unsure of the direction of escape, they argued loudly even as the Azeri column approached our sole line of defense at the trench. As the intensity of the shelling suddenly increased, they dropped their bickering and charged up the mountain path and into the woods, where again they paused to argue about the destination and the route. The sound of the battle below was the only thing that propelled them farther and farther — many had never

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The Clintons Have A Simple Strategy To Separate Gun Owners From Their Rights.



While the Clintons' political allies try to separate you from your rights, their media allies are trying to divide gun owners from the NRA. They want to embarrass you, make you feel out of touch, and undermine your faith in your freedoms and the one group that defends them. So beware: Here's a sampling of anti-gun schemes Congress is considering, with actual bill numbers as of presstime. If you believe in your Second Amendment rights, you'll have to fight to keep them ... by joining NRA now.

Divide &



▼ National "Waiting Periods."

We warned you that "waiting periods" were just a first step and here's proof. Criminals will never "wait" to get a gun, but you will. Twenty-three states already have waiting period/permit schemes with no drop in violent crime. Now they are attempting to pass a

nationwide version of this failure (S414/HR1025). As of presstime, however, there's hope it may include a real solution: the NRA's instant criminal background check, conducted at the point of sale just like a credit card check. Instant checks are already working in five states and can replace the folly of "waiting periods" – which require no criminal background check at all.

FEDERAL REGULATIONS REQUIRE A WAITING PERIOD OF
7 DAYS
 FOR THE PURCHASE OF ANY FIREARM.

▲ Bans on Hunting.

One bill alone could ban hunting in an area the size of Connecticut, Delaware and Rhode Island combined, turning back the clock on scientific wildlife management (HR518/S21).



▲ Bans on Semi-autos.

If your rifle, shotgun or handgun has a semi-automatic mechanism, get ready to register it, surrender it, torch it, or go to jail under a complete nationwide ban (HR893). Media confusion has convinced America that

semi-autos are "machine guns" and "assault weapons." But this bill isn't based on how a gun looks, but on how it works. If it's a semi-auto – like the one in your gun cabinet – it's banned.

Repeal of the Second Amendment. ▼

Your 200-year-old constitutional right to keep and bear arms is up for a vote (HJRes81).



▲ National Handgun Ban.

Prohibits importation, manufacture, purchase, sale, transfer, receipt or transportation of any handgun, except for police and military (HR1501).



▲ Taxes and Registration of Ammunition.

New taxes that could make ammunition prices ten times higher, with endless record keeping of who buys ammunition and why (S179/S109).

"We can't be so fixated on our desire to preserve the rights of ordinary Americans to legitimately own handguns and rifles ... that we are unable to think about reality."

President Bill Clinton, USA TODAY, March 11, 1993

"Confidential work papers from Mrs. Clinton's task force show that the Administration is considering taxes on ... guns, among other sources of revenue for health care."

New York Times, Feb. 18, 1993

Conquer.

Bans on Magazines.

Criminalizes ownership of ammunition clips of various capacities, regardless of firearm type (S108/HR1571). ▼



You Pay For Criminals' Crimes. ▶

Hillary Clinton's health care reformers propose a hefty "user fee" on gun purchasers because such products "contribute to health problems." Buy a gun and you'll pay a "sin tax" to pick up the hospital tab for gunshot victims of big-city criminals (HR737).

Plus More Criminals on Your Streets. ▶

While President Clinton cuts prison-building by \$331 million, they talk of "alternatives to incarceration" and "community corrections" – fancy phrases for more criminals on your streets.



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WAYNE LAPIERRE
Chief Executive Officer
National Rifle Association

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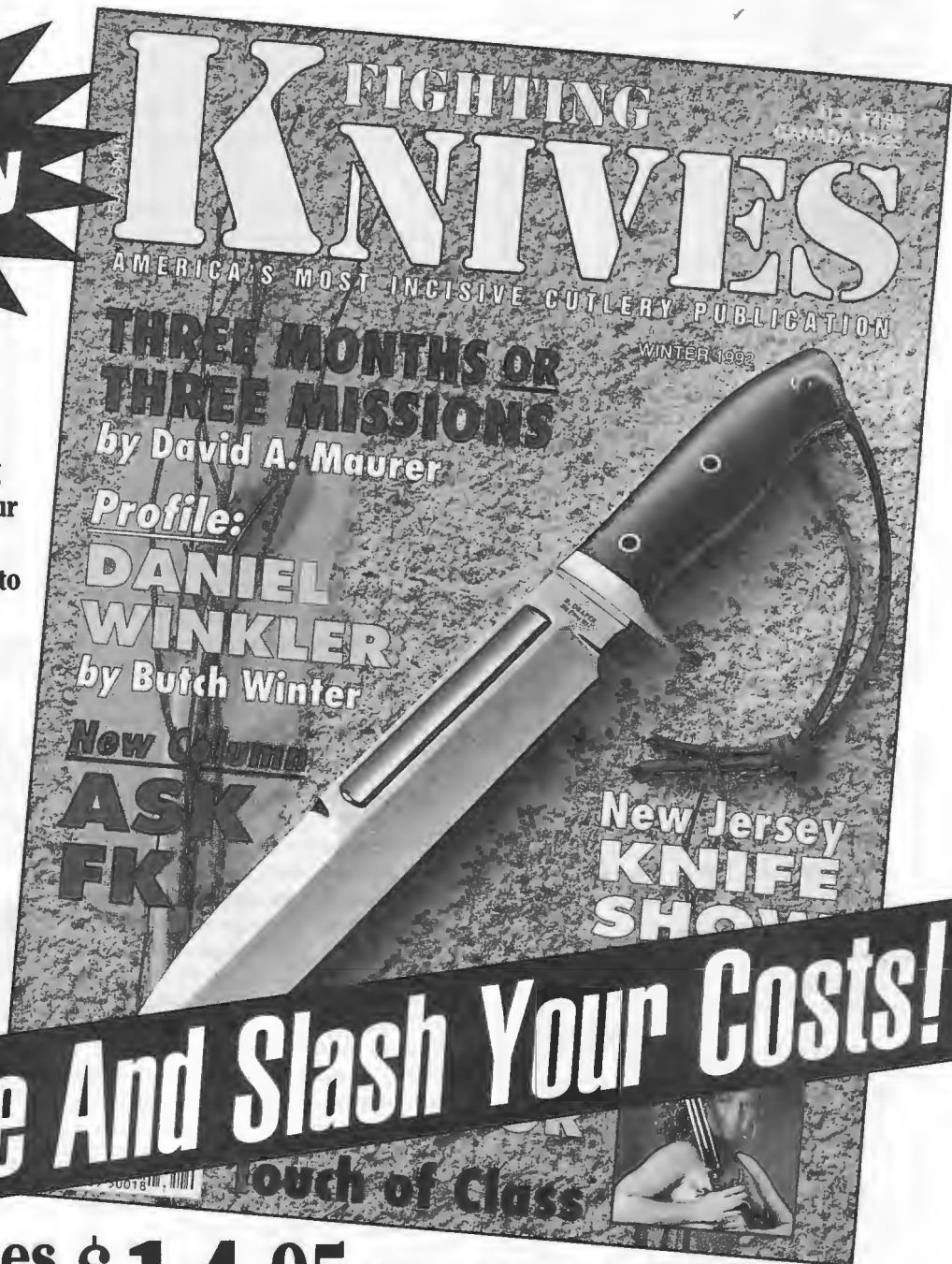


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been far from Arbulagh and didn't know the way over the mountains toward Stepanakert. They shouted and wandered in circles as round after round of rockets arced overhead.

The chaos worsened with the onset of a steady rain, but after 10 hours we made it over the mountains, through the woods, across a river and into Stepanakert. As the peasants dispersed to look for friends or relatives with whom they could stay, I went to the local Fedayeen headquarters. They had news from Arbulagh: Our unit had been forced to a hasty retreat 15 minutes after I left. The Azeris took the village and burned it to the ground.

The following day the Armenian command sent several units to retake Arbulagh and some neighboring villages. They successfully recaptured the territory — now just so much rubble and ash.

Photojournalist JoMarie Fecci has dispatched stories from the conflicts in Israel's West Bank and Gaza Strip, and from Georgia, Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the former Yugoslavia. This is her first article for Soldier Of Fortune.

ACHTUNG BABY!

Continued from page 33

same locale where the German troops and Chris had ambushed the three Chetniks) and watched over the labor detail. I couldn't figure out why these prisoners were digging so well — until "Homes," the senior German volunteer, told me. He was standing behind a group with his machine gun while they dug. The Croat bad boys thought we were there to "make" them dig. I laughed — usually when a "Nazi" with a machine gun makes you dig a hole in the ground, you have to lay in it when you're finished.

Besides the Germans, there were three French volunteers in our brigade: Francois, a two-year vet of the French army who was airborne qualified; Bruno, a French-Spaniard who served with the Spanish paras, and Christopher, another two-year French army vet. The three were all in their early 20s. Bruno had a good-looking, auburn-haired Muslim girlfriend named Amra. The French and Germans usually got along OK, but occasionally were antagonistic toward each other, the underlying reasons usually being women.

After helping secure the labor detail, Paul, a former Brit squaddie and ex-Legionnaire, and James took their sniping rifles (James built his from parts) out on an uneventful patrol. Then it snowed for a week. There was no movement at all for the first few days of snow; even later, combat ops were minimal. But we did get most of the guys together again for some training on the "Faggot," a Russian anti-tank weapon. The Faggot is a tube-

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7. Fabrique Nationale FN/FAL, FN/LAR AND FNC
8. FAMAS MAS223
9. Heckler & Koch HK-91, H-93, HK-94 and PSG-1
10. MAC 10 and MAC11
11. SKS with detachable magazine
12. SIG AMT, SIG 500 Series, and SIG PE-57
13. Springfield Armory BM59 and SAR-48
14. Sterling MK-6 and SAR
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17. Amalite AR-180 Carbine
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19. Calico M-900 Assault Carbine
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launched, optically tracked, wire-guided, command-linked antitank missile ... basically a crude cross-design of the U.S. Dragon and TOW antitank systems.

During this uneventful week, we trained another platoon of troops and watched a live-fire demonstration put on by a sister brigade. During this, one of the Soviet-made AT-3 Sagger antitank missiles hit the ground and exploded behind observers and troops maneuvering on the ground. My highlight of the day was getting a ride in a Russian jeep.

Rogues & Highwaymen

Meanwhile, another Englishman had shown up to join the foreign mercs. Jeff was one more former Brit squaddie and a friend of Paul's who came down to Bosnia from Zagreb for a visit. Jeff was described by an American volunteer as "the most disgusting, infantile person I have ever met." His right forefinger was permanently entrenched in his right nostril and he thought flatulence was the most hilarious thing in the world.

Jeff was only in Bosnia two days before he had a Croat officer reaching for his pistol. Jeff pointed his AK ... words were exchanged — not good. Did I mention Jeff was also wanted in England for credit card fraud?

At about the same time, a friend of Chris' showed up from Australia. Max was also of Croat ancestry and, like Chris, claimed to have been a 2 Commando in the Australian SAS, something no one believed. According to Chris, Max had done time for bank robbery in Australia. Max was quite proud of his history as a professional stickup man.

The number of ex-cons, thieves and mercs of dubious character in town was starting to multiply at an alarming rate. It was bad enough worrying about Serb artillery, mines, snipers and so forth, but after you heard first-person stories of rape, murder, burglary, looting and attempted frugging, well, you began to worry about your wallet ... and your back.

Nothing much of substance was happening. The Bosnian Serbs were to have signed the cease-fire on 28 April and Glasnovic planned to stop any offensive action at that time. Most of the foreign mercs were going to train for another week and then patrol a week before the cease-fire.

My plane ticket expired in a week and I didn't see how I was going to make enough cash to buy another, with pay only \$53 per month and rapidly dwindling due to inflation. Besides this, I'd recently had to disarm one drunken merc who shoved an AK in my stomach ... then I punched him in the face. Although he left Tomislavgrad the next day, I didn't like the idea of working in an atmosphere where foreign mercs were beginning to turn on each other.

An American showed up named Mike,

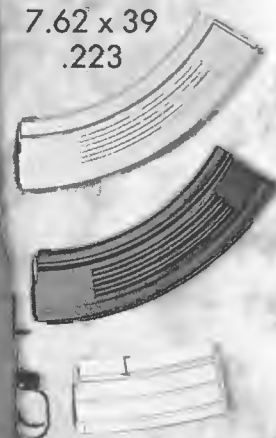


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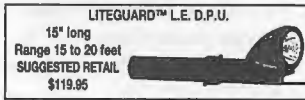
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age 25, a med student from Missouri and a former Ranger E-4. He was lucky to be alive. Mike had traveled to Zagreb and then gone to Croatian army headquarters. They sent him to some type of Bosnian defense force office where he was given a bus ticket to Tuzla, some 160km northeast of us. At the last minute Mike bought a ticket to Tomislavgrad after he'd read Col. Brown's article in *SOF*. This saved his life, because Tuzla is a Muslim stronghold; a cadre of Iranian fundamentalists there would have had a lot of fun with an American.

The young med student was only around Tomislavgrad for about three days when he decided he'd heard enough of people's plans to rob banks in Germany, smuggle weapons and so on — he also was worried about his personal security. In that environment, if you didn't enthusiastically support someone's criminal plans, they considered you a "security risk." Mike got smart and joined one of the Germans and me for the ride out of Bosnia.

A former Special Forces officer and platoon leader in the 1/17th Infantry (Mech.), Rob Krott has authored several SOF articles and studied anthropology as a Harvard graduate student.

HIRED GUN

Continued from page 32

we tried, we couldn't hit him. The bastard just wouldn't die."

• During the sniping disaster in Yakuf (see sidebar, page 33), one Croat trooper was shifting around in his hole when he heard a voice drift across no-man's-land saying, "Go ahead ... move a little more to the right and I'll get ya."

• When eyeing the local lovelies, it's important to keep in mind the merc's mustache/teeth rule: "Women here have either a mustache and teeth, or no mustache and no teeth."

• Several troops were killed or captured because they had to slow their "withdrawal" to carry a female soldier who couldn't hang with the pace of their movement. Bill Clinton, Senate Armed Services Committee and all assorted non-veteran liberals and draft-dodgers who want to put women in the combat MOSs, please take note.

• While covering the withdrawal of his unit from a trench line, a very well-known and popular Croat soldier was wounded under the eye by a Skorpion machine pistol bullet. Enduring excruciating pain from the wound and facing capture by Chetniks overrunning his position, he fired off his last rifle magazine, drew his pistol and, placing it under his chin, pulled the trigger.

• Kalashnikov rifles are for sale on the black market for \$130 and up, depending on type. Heckler & Koch G3s and Argentine FN's are much tougher to get, while .308 ammo is in short supply.

• Pistols are in great demand. Tokarevs cost between \$130-\$350, with CZs commanding prices around \$1,000. On the Balkans arms market, anything is available — Skorpions, Armscor MGL grenade launchers — you name it, for a price.

• An American artilleryman journeyed to Bosnia assuming he'd find fully equipped modern batteries with high-tech frills like laser finders. The King Tomislav Brigade's gun bunnies are still laughing.

• There's a large percentage of French Foreign Legion vets serving in this conflict (some having left before completing their enlistment terms). General Ruso of the Croatian army and Colonel Glasnovic are both former Legionnaires. At least 27 Legionnaires have died fighting Serbs to date —Vive la Legion.

• A Serb MiG pilot was shot down in Suica by a SAM-7. The pilot ejected and his aircraft exploded, showering farmers' fields with debris. The local HOS (Croatian Defense Force) troops pulled the hapless pilot from his harness for retribution before his canopy could collapse — he never even touched the ground.

—R. K. ✕

COMBAT WEAPONCRAFT

Continued from page 14

ready. High ready places the muzzle up and in line between the eye and the target and is used mostly outdoors. Low ready has the shotgun mounted in the shoulder pocket with the muzzle downward at a 45-degree angle, the muzzle again held in line with the target. Low ready is best for close situations, particularly indoors. In extremely close situations, low ready may be exaggerated and the muzzle brought down to point just outside the support-foot.

A good rule is that the muzzle should not hamper your visibility of the target, particularly your visibility of the hostile's hands. Ideally, the muzzle is placed just under your line of sight with the target, on the area where the adversary's hands can be seen. The degree of muzzle depression increases proportionately with proximity of the target. Keep in mind that the farther away a threat, the more time you will have to deal with it. Conversely, the closer, the more quickly you may have to react. This will dictate your choice of positions.

Gabriel Suarez is on the special ops unit of a California police department, and thrice a graduate of Jeff Cooper's Gunsite. ✕



"I grabbed a grenade, threw it, and readied another as it went off in the jungle in front of me..."

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COMMAND GUIDANCE

Continued from page 3

important, that they went ahead even though they knew that Koresh had been tipped off.

All of which suggests that the real motive in executing a no-knock search warrant at the compound wasn't so much to preserve evidence or prevent violence, as to produce television footage of the BATF in action, with the object of intimidating cultists and gun-owners, while impressing the congressional committees that vote on the bureau's budget.

In this, the BATF was probably trying to emulate the thugs of the Drug Enforcement Agency, who have made televised no-knock searches into a trademark. Unfortunately for the BATF, people who think their First Amendment rights to freedom of religion and their Second Amendment rights to keep and bear arms are being violated are apt to respond differently than druggies when someone tries to kick down their door. ☒

MERCS

Continued from page 37

allegedly involving them was exposed in London. The Star interviewed ex-DCC officer Rich Verster, who said the unit's vets were bitter about being sacked: "That is why some are seriously contemplating working for the MPLA [or] Unita ..." He added that a group of men had left for Angola after accepting offers of \$5,000 (U.S.) per month "to join MPLA forces for an assault on Unita."

More revelations came with publication of a transcript in the East London, South Africa, Daily Dispatch of a secretly recorded conversation wherein a man recruited mercenaries to work in Angola as part of the Soyo operation, ostensibly as security guards for foreign oil companies. The speaker was reportedly an ex-32 Battalion officer, who told his potential recruits: "My company has been appointed by a multinational company which holds varied assets in Africa ... In one of these countries a force, which we will call 'the enemy,' has seized some of the assets of this company, and we have been asked to get a force together to secure them ... We have compiled an order of battle for a small force to do a commando-type operation to secure the area so that our sponsor can go in and recover his equipment. However, the government of the day has said that if we secure the area, they will give us an infantry brigade to hold the position."

"Our force will be approximately 100 strong. The people we have approached are experienced and have seen combat in adverse conditions." The speaker emphasized his neutrality despite close links to Angola's MPLA government; he urged listeners to look at their contracts in purely financial terms: "... I stress that I want no

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ideological problems from someone who might be emotionally involved in who the baddies might be."

Salary scales were outlined next, starting at \$165 (U.S.) daily for a rifleman, \$215 for a corporal and \$230 for a sergeant. "A rifleman will get \$5,000 U.S. dollars a month, after which he gets a bonus of \$1,650 U.S. dollars ... that's good money for this kind of work," the speaker noted, adding that 50% was guaranteed up front, with the rest to be deposited in bank accounts on the 29th day after performance was proven. He then made some general observations.

"The force is all South African, because I do not trust Americans. But if there is an American who has served with us, well, then I don't have a problem with him going along. If Americans, Brits or Australians want to become involved, I don't want anything to do with them. Only if they have lived over here and served as soldiers and served well, then I will consider them." From information available, it seems recruits first went to a coastal training camp at Cabo Ledo, south of Luanda; although they had been told they would be accompanied by one MPLA officer, they were in fact incorporated into an Angolan military force.

The operation was to attack Soyo from the ocean. One secret report circulating in diplomatic circles describes how the force was first put on rafts of the Tom Sawyer variety — they drifted helplessly in sight of Unita positions before the mission was aborted. A second try using small wooden boats proved successful, but at a price. The Johannesburg daily *Die Beeld* noted one mercenary was shot dead and five wounded in the operation on the weekend of 13-14 March, but no names were released.

Judging from the best reports available, the men recruited for the Soyo attack were only a fraction of those hired by the MPLA. A journalist in the Balkans recently reported interviewing Serb soldiers hired by Angola and leaving with Bulgarians to fight against Unita.

Despite the MPLA's efforts, in April Unita's military chief of staff, General Arlindo "Ben-Ben" Pena, told journalists at Kuito he was prepared to march against Luanda if peace negotiations failed. The general looked surprisingly fit — in late 1992 an Angolan state TV broadcast has displayed a burnt and mutilated body identified as being his. Unita soldiers seen in Huambo soon after the battle there appeared well-disciplined, highly motivated and battle-ready.

Huambo, located in Angola's central highlands, is the country's second-largest city and was used by Savimbi for his headquarters until this past January, when MPLA troops fought their way into the city. Unita forces counterattacked — Huambo was retaken by the rebels in March after 56 days of fighting — Western sources estimate 15,000 were killed, including some 5,000 civilians.

Unless the government attempts calling on old allies such as Vietnam or Cuba for renewed foreign intervention, everything indicates that enlistment of mercenary forces will be to no avail; the MPLA must either negotiate on Unita's terms or face a new round of protracted fighting likely to end in outright military defeat for Luanda.

— Jill Jalliffe in Lisbon, Portugal

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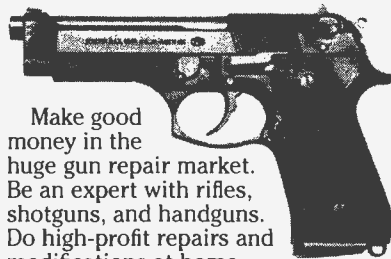
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WACO WARRANTS

Continued from page 49

cludes one or several sniper teams for long-range perimeter coverage."

"The ECT's dress resembles that of commandos or paramilitary raiders rather than civilian law-enforcement personnel," the source noted. "Agents are outfitted in what the press has described alternately as black uniforms, Ninja suits, SWAT team outfits, and so forth. ECTs and sniper teams were used in Waco. Once an agency has such components as ECTs and sniper teams, the agency will look for opportunities to use them to justify their budgets, whether or not the situation calls for it.

"The unanswered question," he continued, "is whether there is legitimate justification for the very creation of such exotic units ... What ATF agents are involved in is not a war, per se, but criminal law enforcement ... They are armed with awesome enforcement tools and powers granted by Congress for investigating hardened career criminals, but which brutal power may be wielded against passive [firearms] licensees.

"They are managed by sometimes timid, sometimes political — always bureaucratic — regulators who have no ability to exercise any control at all over even routine tactical operations ... Given the choice of a peaceable interview and kicking in a ... door just for the pure entertainment ... ATF special agents instinctively reach for the battering ram ..."

Within hours of the 28 February shoot-out, Koresh rebuked ATF negotiator Jim Cavanaugh by telephone as they discussed allowing agents to re-enter the compound and retrieve their dead comrades. "It would've been better if you just called me up or talked to me," a tape recording transcript made public by the *Houston Chronicle* revealed Koresh saying. "Then you all could have come in and done your work." Bureau spokesman Jack Killorin has said ATF agents called out their identity and purpose to serve a warrant as the raid began.

"The point is to understand why anyone would choose to serve a search warrant as ATF attempted to do it in Waco. The question is why was it served in a way that led to the deaths of four special agents, the wounding of 16 others and the deaths and woundings of some inhabitants of the premises to be searched," *SOF's* source said.

"From all accounts, there was no attempt by ATF officers to gain entry through any means other than forced entry," the former ATF official continued. "Force seems to have been the first thing that came to mind. That in itself appears to be a disregard for the law. The use of force is not a matter of right. The authority of officers to use force to enter is found in Title 18, U.S.C. 3109 ...

"The mandatory language of the statute imposes two conditions precedent to any forced entry — one, notice of the officer's authority and purpose — and two, refused admittance. Irrespective of the situation inside, the notice of authority and purpose must be given ... Failure to comply with either condition ... is grounds for suppression of everything seized under an otherwise valid warrant ...

"It appears most unlikely that any ATF officer could have given notice of authority and purpose," the ATF veteran observed. "It also appears unlikely that admittance was refused or that ATF waited a sufficient time for any court to find that admittance had been refused before attempting to force entry."

Speak Out Now On ATF

United States Code 3109 is grounded in English common law "and founded on the sound public policy of safety for the officers executing the warrant," the source noted. "Unless the occupants of a dwelling are made aware that the persons attempting to enter have legal authority and a legal warrant to enter, the occupants have every right to defend themselves and [then] the safety of the occupants and the officers is threatened. That may have occurred in Waco."

The former ATF officials warned that unless citizens write their officials in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives demanding a thorough, independent investigation, preferably by an independent prosecutor, and unless a possible legislative remedy is demanded by citizens of those elected representatives, the tragedy of Waco — also the unwarranted abuses against private, law-abiding citizens such as John Lawmaster, Del Knudson and scores of other innocents who have had their doors knocked down by overzealous agents — will be repeated.

"Given the awesome and pervasive search, seizure and forfeiture authority of ATF, combined with little or no institutional restraints from experienced law enforcement professionals above, an unhealthy climate has been created," *SOF's* source warned. "The regulators may well believe televised paramilitary assaults to be a good public relations gimmick. After all, their only exposure to law enforcement has been from television.

"There has been an institutional ethic developing within BATF which has had the inevitable result of depriving citizens of basic legal rights and to occasionally invite confrontation," concluded the former official. "If one spoils for a fight, it will soon find him. The Waco gunfight comes as no surprise. The only surprise is that it took so long."

James L. Pate is a frequent contributor and former SOF Associate Editor providing ongoing coverage of the Waco siege and its aftermath, for SOF. ✕

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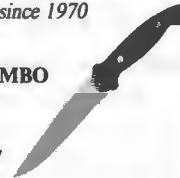
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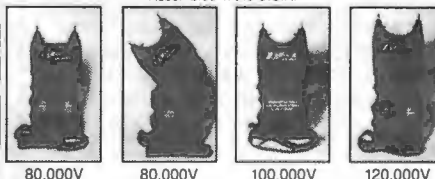
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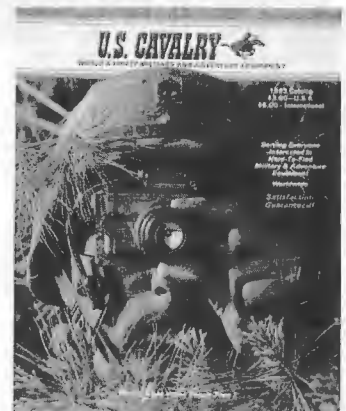
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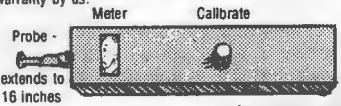
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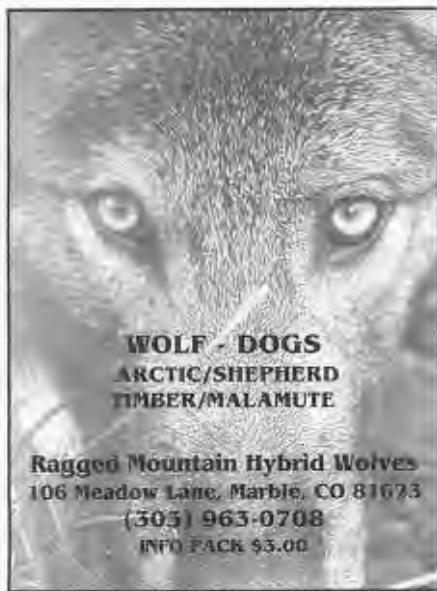
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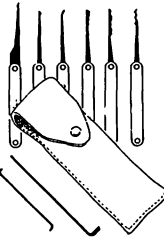
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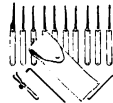
PXP 8 \$24.95



PXP 10

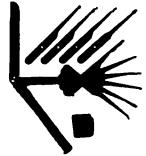
- Shirt Pocket Size.
- Top Grain Cowhide Leather.
- Has 13 Picks, Tension Wrenches and Broken Key Extractor.
- All Picks with Metal Handles.
- Copy of Lockpicking Simplified.

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PIX-EZ All-In-One Pick-Set

100% American Made! As convenient to carry and use as a pocket knife! Only 4 inches long, half inch square, weighs under five ounces, works fast and opens pin and water tumbler locks quickly, with very little effort. Six tempered spring steel picks, tension wrench.
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WKS PICKS

Made of the finest blue tempered spring steel this 5 piece padlock pick-set is a must in every locksmith's tool box. This set will pick open most every warded padlock made today.
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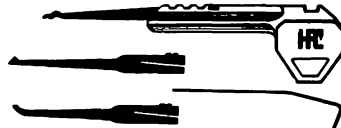


ESP-13

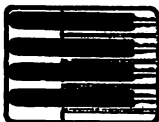
This handy new pick set is the most popular set among professional locksmiths today. This kit consists of 12 different tools housed in a handsome black leather case designed for a shirt pocket. Included in the price, you receive a 5 piece warded key set and a copy of "Lockpicking Simplified." 17 piece set total.
ESP-13 \$45.95



KEY RING PICK SET



This unique design is ideal when low profile is required or to keep on your keyring for emergencies. Contains a tension wrench, three picks and the "Key Pick."
Key Ring Pick Set \$27.95



DOUBLE SIDED DISK TUMBLER PICKS

Set of 4 picks designed to be used on the most popular double-sided disc tumbler, showcase, cam and padlocks.
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MINI PICK TUBULAR

The most effective tubular pick on the market, unlike the larger picks with long handles or screwdriver handles. The longer the tool, the more pressure needed which causes easy breakage. The advantage of the Mini Pick is it is so short, you only use your thumb and index finger. With a little practice this tool will open a tubular lock in less than a minute.
 A. Your Choice: (1) Center (2) Offset left (3) Offset right; B. "Segal" 8 pin tubular; C. 5-pin Tubular; D. 6-pin Tubular; E. 8-Pin Ace.
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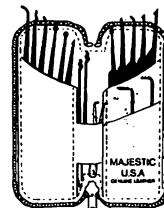
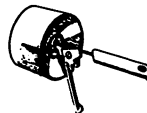
SESAMEE DECODER

This tool was designed to decode the exact combination of a sesamee padlock without damaging the lock. Detailed instruction included.
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SCHLAGE WAFER

The most fantastic tool you will ever use. This set consists of two base keys and pick. Complete instructions included.
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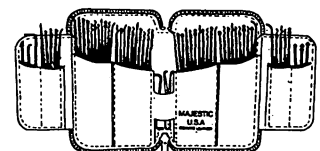
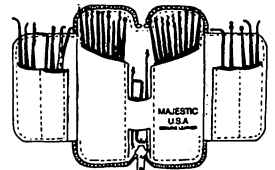


MD16

Shirt Pocket Size, Top Grain Cowhide Leather, Zippered Case, has 16 Picks, Tension Wrenches and Broken Key Extractor.
\$59.95

MD32

Hip Pocket Size, Top Grain Cowhide Leather, Zippered Case, has 32 picks, Tension Wrenches, Broken Key Extractor.
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MD60

Top Grain Cowhide Leather, Zippered Case, has 60 picks, Tension Wrenches, Broken Key Extractor and Warded Master Keys.
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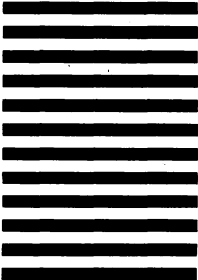
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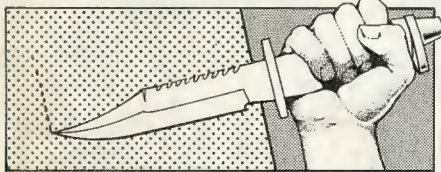
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You don't have to be in the service to appreciate a good boot. But it helps.

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One firefighter said our Thinsulate™ insulation was so good he couldn't tell his boots were on fire.

two inches taller at the top (so you can tuck your pants in), and added D-rings (for dress wear).

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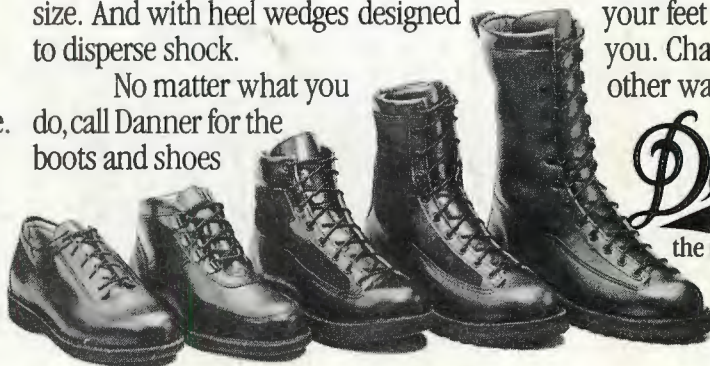
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